

THE FALSE DMITRI

SONIA E. HOWE

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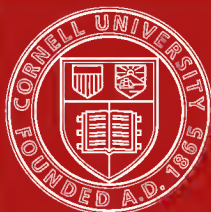
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THE FALSE DMITRI



The most mighty Prince **DEMETRIUS** Emperour
of Russia, Great-Duke of Vlodomor, Mosco, and Na-
vogrod; King of Cazan and Astracan. Comaunder
of all Siberia and of the North parts. etc.

Compton Holland excud:

T sculp:

[Frontispiece.]

THE FALSE DMITRI.

From an engraving by Compton Holland.

THE FALSE DMITRI

A Russian Romance and Tragedy

DESCRIBED BY BRITISH EYE-WITNESSES, 1604-1612

*(Reprints of Contemporary Reports such as "A Bloudie
Tragedie," printed 1607, etc.)*

EDITED, WITH A PREFACE,

BY

SONIA E. HOWE

AUTHOR OF "A THOUSAND YEARS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY"

ILLUSTRATED BY CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS

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PREFACE

WHILE gathering material for my portrait-gallery of *Some Russian Heroes, Saints and Sinners*, a book soon to be published, I had occasion not only to read official and diplomatic records, but also documents compiled by private persons of various nationalities—eye-witnesses of stirring events then being enacted in Muscovy. Especially when dealing with the early years of the seventeenth century I came across some interesting narratives written by British residents in Moscow, which supply vivid descriptions and first-hand evidence of that stormy yet glittering episode—the Coming, the Brief Reign, and the Tragic Passing of the gallant and mysterious Pretender Dmitri and of the “Troublous Times” which followed after.

The episodes described in the following narratives took place during a period of political and national upheaval, during which “*many strangers were murdered, the English except, who have in all changes been well beloved by the Russians.*” The romance and tragedy of the events witnessed by foreigners so stirred their hearts and minds

that several of them felt compelled to report, and in some instances to publish as soon as possible, accounts of what they had seen.

Three letters serve as a prologue to this moving tragedy. The first, written in 1604 to Pope Clement VIII by the Pretender Dmitri, who therein asserts his claim to the Throne of Muscovy; the second, written in 1605 to the King of Poland by the Tsar Boris Godounov, who remonstrates with the latter for taking up the cause of the Pretender. Both these letters have been translated from the original. The third letter is to Sir Thomas Smith, then *Lord Embassadour*, and was sent to inform King James I of Dmitri's accession to the Throne.

The copy of the marriage settlement drawn up by the Pretender justifies certain accusations made by his enemies against him.

This document, as well as the narrative by the British volunteer and the letters to England, have been taken from *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, published in 1625.

The anonymous author of *The Reporte of a bloudie and terrible Massacre in the Citty of Mosco* was a Dutch merchant, but one William Russell, sometime Agent of the Dutch Company, and also an eye-witness, immediately translated the MS. and published it in London in 1607.

The brief quotation from the report of the

Scotchman, Captain Gilbert, a member of the Pretender's Bodyguard, is given because it links the descriptions by the aforesaid anonymous writer to Henry Brereton's *Newes of the Present Miseries of Rushia*, published in 1614, which carries on the story to the time of Vassili Shuiski's captivity in Poland.

The narrative of one of the 1200 British mercenaries who in 1609 left the shores of Britain in order to fight against Poland in Russia under the Swedish General de la Gardie for the Tsar Vassili Shuiski, gives a vivid description of the journey undertaken by these English and Scottish volunteers to Muscovy and of their experiences during that campaign, where the Russians and British fought side by side.

The reader will be sometimes astonished at the discrepancies in facts and puzzled by the variety in the spelling of the names, especially in that of "Shuiski," but Russian names have evidently always proved a stumbling-block to the British—and these authors lived in the days of perfect liberty as to spelling. It may therefore not be amiss to give a list of the most flagrant variants of names: for instance, John Basilius, Euan, Ivan Vasiliovitz, Iuan Basiliuitz for the Tsar Ivan IV Vassilievitch; Fendor for Feodor; Vlussi for Vlassov; Swisnevitz and Visnevetsk for Wiesniowicki; Smalensko for Smolensk; Colloge for Kaluga; Swethland,

Sweueland for Sweden; Weyborough for Viborg, etc., etc.

The author of *A Briefe Historical Relation of the Empire of Russia*, who signs himself J. F., is an Englishman with a grievance against his own country to which he freely gives vent. It demonstrates, however, the fact that if things were bad in Russia, they were far from perfect in England. The way in which he praises Boris Godounov leads one to suppose that he was trying to flatter Cromwell in order to gain some personal end. This writer has been cited in spite of inaccuracies—arising from undue credulity—as he is an eye-witness of the events which took place within the Kremlin when it was held by the Poles and besieged by the Russian National Army from 1610 to 1612.

As an Epilogue a letter written by the Usurper Vassili Shuiski to King James I is appended, in which the Tsar gives his version of the grim story wherein he plays so prominent a part. Although official histories of Russia agree with the view expressed in this document, namely that the Pretender was merely the renegade monk Grishka Otrepiev, unbiassed historians differ in opinion upon this point, as also do the authors of the following narratives.

It has never been established as to who this mysterious individual actually was whose short and brilliant reign and tragic end supply material

both for romance and tragedy. I hope to deal with this question more fully in the aforesaid work on *Some Russian Heroes, Saints and Sinners*, of whom Dmitri is by no means the least interesting.

SONIA E. HOWE.

St. Luke's Vicarage, Finchley,
May 25, 1916.

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DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

THE *dramatis personæ* of the tragedy set forth in this compilation are as follows:—

- ¹ **BORIS FEODOROVITCH GODOUNOV**: Tsar, brother-in-law to the preceding Tsar Feodor Ivanovitch, whose young brother Dmitri he was supposed to have had killed in order to facilitate his usurpation of the throne.

¹ Name also written: Boris Godenoue, Boritz Fendrowitz Godena, Borice Feodorowick Godoonove, Boris Fedorovitch.

- ² **THE FALSE DMITRI**: A mysterious youth who suddenly appears in Poland claiming to be Tsarevitch Dmitri, son of Ivan the Terrible, miraculously preserved from the attempted murder, who is acclaimed by the Russian people as their lawful Tsar, but whom Boris declares to be ³ Grishka Otrepiev, a “Razstriga,” or unfrocked monk.

² Name also written: Dmitri Ugletsky, Demetry, Demetrius of Owgleets, Owglitts, Owglets, Ouglitz—in a word—of “Uglitch.”

³ Name also written: Gryshca Otreapyoue, Griskie Strepy, Grishko Otrepeev.

SIGISMUND III: King of Poland, who supports the Pretender.

- ⁴ **YURI MNISZEK**: Voyevod of Sandomir, a Polish Magnate.

⁴ Name also written: Vayvod of Sandimier or Palatine Sendamersko.

MARINA: his daughter, the betrothed, and for a few days, wife of the Pretender.

AN INDIVIDUAL: claiming to be the real Grishka Otrepiev.

THE DOWAGER TSARITSA, "MARTHA THE NUN": seventh wife of Ivan the Terrible, Mother of the Tsarevitch Dmitri.

⁵ PRINCE VASSILI SHUISKI: who plots against the Tsar Dmitri, brings about his assassination, and usurps his throne, which he loses, however, four years later and is taken as a captive to Poland.

⁵ Name also written: Shoskey, Sviskey, Suiskey, Cinskie, Shooskee, Vansusces, Kneheuansusce, [Knese = Knyaz, prince].

THE SECOND PRETENDER DMITRI: an adventurer supported by the Cossacks and whom Marina is forced by her father to recognise as her lawful husband.

BOYARS AND OTHER RUSSIAN NOBLES.

POLISH MAGNATES, AMBASSADORS AND CAVALIERS.

LADIES OF THE COURT.

FOREIGN MERCENARIES, including many English and Scottish.

FOREIGN MERCHANTS AND PHYSICIANS.

COSSACKS.

STRELTSI, or Russian Archers.

THE POPULACE OF MOSCOW.

THE FALSE DMITRI

I

THE PRETENDER DMITRI'S LETTER TO POPE CLEMENT VIII

A letter from the Pretender Dmitri to Pope Clement VIII, in which he asserts his claim to the throne of Muscovy, informs the Pope of his conversion to the Church of Rome, and asks for the latter's support. The original was written by Dmitri himself in Polish and translated into Latin by the Jesuit Sawicki. The English translation has been made for this book from the Polish text published in the *Rozprawy* of the Polish Academy of Sciences as published by Professor Baudouin de Courtenay. The original Polish document shows in many points indicated by the Professor that its author was a great Russian, who had learnt Church Slavonic first and only afterwards learnt to speak and write Polish.

Most Holy and most Blessed Father in Christ, who it is who dares thus to address your Holiness, your Holiness will learn from the most illustrious and most reverend Nuncio at the Court of the Most Serene King of Poland, to whom I have communicated the origin and causes of all my resolutions. I have escaped out of the hands of a most cruel tyrant and the Almighty God has delivered me from death by His special

and wonderful providence throughout my career, even from my infancy. I dwelt at first in the Empire of Muscovy itself, among monks, and then I was led me into the dominions of the Most Serene King of Poland where I have lived hidden and unknown until the time came when I had to declare my identity and appear before the King. After having been received by the King and after having carefully observed the flourishing state of the Catholic religion according to the rite of the Roman Church, I felt drawn to it and joined myself to it. I found by the grace of God an eternal and a better Kingdom than the one of which I had been deprived by the extreme impioussness of a Tyrant. My anxiety for the salvation of my own soul made me realise the danger that menaces the whole of Muscovy by reason of the Greek schism, which is in contradiction to the unity of the Catholic Church, and how unjustified had been the authors and promoters of this schism in rejecting the immaculate and ancient doctrines of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church. Therefore by the unmerited grace of God, who has given strength to my soul, without further hesitation I have entered into the unity of the Roman faith and fortified by the Sacraments of the Church I have become one of the flock of Your Holiness, the chief Pastor of Christendom. Circumstances, however, constrain me to

keep myself still in hiding and to wait and see what the Ruler of the Universe, who has hitherto preserved me from so many dangers, will do with me. Having experienced so many mercies in the past I am encouraged to hope that the Divine Goodness will restore to me my hereditary Kingdom, to me whose blood is that of the most noble and most ancient of the Tsars of Muscovy—if it be His Will, to which I submit myself unreservedly. Should it not be His good pleasure to grant me my desire, it will still be enough for me to have found the truth in the Catholic Church and to have come into salutary union with the Church of God which can lead me to the heavenly kingdom.

If, however, the Lord of all power opens the way for me to ascend my hereditary throne and has regard to my equity, I humbly beseech your Holiness not to deprive me of your support and favour. For the Almighty God may use me, unworthy though I am, to add to His divine glory by the conversion of erring souls and by uniting a great nation to the Church, and who can tell for what cause He has called me to join His Church.

I kiss the feet of your Holiness as if they were those of Christ Himself and with the deepest reverence I offer my obedience and submission to the Chief Pastor and Father of all Christendom. For urgent reasons I do so secretly and

Tsar of Siberia, etc. . . . To the great Sovereign Sigismond III by the grace of God King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. . . . In the year 109 Your Majesty King Sigismond sent to our Majesty the Tsar the great ambassadors Lev Ivanovitch Sapieha, Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Starost of Slonim and Mogilov, and Stanislav Vartitsky, Castellan of Warsaw, and the Scribe of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Geliat Pelkrimovsky, to ask our great Emperor that the treaty drawn up between the great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke Fedor Ivanovitch, Autocrat of all Russia, and you great King Sigismond, should for the sake of maintaining Christian peace be renewed and strengthened for a further twenty years or more. And we, the great sovereign Tsar, Grand Duke Boris Fedorovitch, Autocrat of all Russia, at your request commanded our Boyars and your Ambassadors to reconsider and renew the treaty between us great kings and our great kingdoms for twenty years from Assumption Day of the year 110, and that the said treaty should in no wise serve as an agreement for any other measures than those contained in it. And the cross was kissed over the document, that the treaty should be kept according to the written word as given in the treaty papers. And for your side, great King and Sovereign Majesty the cross was kissed by your great Ambassadors, the Chancellor of the

Grand Duchy of Lithuania and his companions, that for the given years the treaty should be kept according to the written word. And after the dismissal of your Ambassadors, to strengthen the said treaty, we sent you our great ambassadors . . . that you, great King, should kiss the cross over the document in their presence, that you might keep the treaty according to the written word. And it is written in our treaty that in all disputes and conflicts regarding boundaries each side should send Judges who are to learn the rights and wrongs from the old inhabitants of the said boundaries and are to put back everything as it used to be in the olden days and thus make an end of all matters of conflict. And we, great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke Boris Fedorovitch, Autocrat of all Russia, according to the treaty papers and the agreement between your Members of the Diet and our Ambassadors sent our representatives to a conference on boundaries. To the boundaries in Toroptz and Velij and in other places we sent . . . the Lord-Lieutenant Kozelsky . . . and his colleagues, and to the boundaries Chernigov and Putivel . . . the Lord-Lieutenant Shchatsky . . . and his colleagues who were to meet your judges sent on the same matter. And your judges . . . coming to Usviat, did not refer to our judges, nor did they investigate the boundaries, but they took posses-

sion of many of our lands beyond the old boundaries, a thing that had never happened before, causing much bloodshed and damage to the population of those boundaries, and looting and pillaging in the military fashion. . . . And at the boundaries Chernigov and Putivel your judges did not meet ours at the conference, and our judges, after waiting a long time for yours, departed; and in that place and all over the district of Chernigov and Putivel and in many other places, our people suffered riots and great injuries at the hands of your border people. And our Boyars wrote in detail about these riots to your Pans of the Rad,¹ so that in all the border places the rioters should be discovered and both sides brought to justice. And you and your Pans of the Rad made no investigation in these prejudicial matters, nor did you call the offenders to account, and not only were the old offences and riots allowed to go unpunished, but new offences and riots were constantly being caused by your border people against ours, and in places, contrary to all established custom, your people appropriated our lands with great violence, causing hatred and bloodshed between us great Kings and our great Kingdoms. The Vishnevetskians by robbery appropriated the towns of Prilutskoe and Snetino in the north of our Kingdom and want to keep them, and from

¹ Members of the Diet.

time immemorial Prilutskoe and Snetino has been the domain of our great Tsars. In the time of the great Sovereign Tsars of Russia and your ancestors, the great Polish kings, there had never been any dispute or mention of these lands and in the present day in your reign, King Sigismond, such shameful and violent things have come to pass as have never happened before. The Vishnevetskians abandon themselves freely to their robbery as though they feared not over them the Sovereign and the Members of the Diet.

And on your side such things are perpetrated that are contrary to every known custom and unfitting for a great Christian Sovereign. It is known to us that in your Kingdom there has appeared a thief—a certain monk who had formerly been in the Chudov Monastery in our Kingdom as deacon and with the Archimandrite in Keleenik. He was called the monk Grishko. From the Chudov Monastery for his learning he went to the Court of the Patriarch of Moscow, and before his monkhood he was known in the world as Yuskko Bogdanov, the son of Otrepeev. And when in the world, by the wickedness of his nature, he refused to listen to his father's words and fell into heresy and stole and robbed and gambled at dice; he ran away from his father and became a monk, but did not give up the old ways of robbery and stealth he had practised in the

world before his monkhood; and he denied God and fell into heresy and necromancy and the summoning of evil spirits. And the Patriarch, learning of his evil-doing and necromancy and summoning of evil spirits, according to the rules of the Holy Fathers and the decrees of the Church condemned him and his associates to be sent to the Beloe Lake to be kept in prison till death. And this same thief—this monk Grishko, seeing that certain ruin was before him, escaped from Moscow over the border to your Kingdom by Kiev, together with his associate monks, the priest Varlaam and Krilatanin and Misoil and Povadin, and was in the Petchersky Monastery and in the Ostrog and in the Bragin and in the Derman Monastery where he was a deacon. After that the robber Monk Grishko Otrepeev came to Vishnevetsk and by the bad influence of his heresy apostated from our true Christian Faith openly, ignoring his vows as a monk, abusing the life of a monk and casting off his monk's garb; and he followed the same wicked ways as of old of thieving and robbery, and by the advice of such wicked councillors as himself he was led to put his wickedness to other than Christian usages and taught to call himself by the blessed memory of Prince Dmitri Ugletsky, son of the great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke Ivan Vasilevitch, Autocrat of all Russia, and by his act abusing and reproaching the great

Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke Ivan Vasilevitch, Autocrat of all Russia, Anointed of God and me a great Christian Sovereign. It is common knowledge that the great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke Ivan Vasilevitch, Autocrat of all Russia, had a son, Prince Dmitri, with his seventh, and therefore not legal wife, and that after the death of the great Tsar and Grand Duke Ivan Vasilevitch, Autocrat of all Russia, Dmitri and his mother were given the town of Ugletch which, at the present day, by our wish, is under the government of Gustav Erikovitch, eldest son of the King of Sweden. And in the year 109 the said Prince Dmitri fell ill and died of the black death and was buried in Ugletch, and this is known not only to people in the Russian Kingdom but in other Kingdoms it is known in detail, as well as to your own people; and Dmitri's mother Maria is alive to this day and his uncle Nagoi is in our service. And now our Governors and Chancellors in Ukrainian towns write to tell us that this robber monk Grishko Otrepeev calls himself Prince Dmitri Ugletsky by the advice of the Vishnevetsky, Ratomsk and other Pans, who join in his robberies, and this thief writes many lying letters to our people in Ukraina, calling himself Prince Dmitri Ugletsky, and to the robbers of the Don, to the Don Ataman, their Cossack, he likewise writes lying letters, and to this Ataman he sent

his banner by Litvin, Shchasny, Sversky, bribing them by promise of Ukrainian land. And the Don Cossacks, thieves and robbers all, who were under sentence of death in our Kingdom, following your Cherkas-Zaporogians and the council of the thief and his advisers, had Peter Khrushtchov, whom we had sent to them on Crimean affairs, sent back to us to Litva bound in chains; and our ambassadors from Ukrainian towns—the Boyar-Children, Ivan Rentov and Afanas Sukhatchev and their colleagues were plundered as a warning to Crimeans in September of the present year 130 by your Litovian Cherkasians, and brought to Vrot on the mouth of the Orchid to the Ataman Sofron and his followers, and to this same Sofron there appeared Litvin, Shchasny, Sversky, with the Zaporogian Cherkassians, who had come to visit the Cossacks of the Don, and these Cossacks questioned the Boyar-Children . . . about our Ukrainian towns and prisons, torturing them by fire, so that many perished; and this is what happens in a Christian land!

And many spies come from your kingdom to our kingdom distributing lying letters in the towns and villages and scattering leaflets broadcast in the roads, in the name of the robber heretic monk, who desires to cause bloodshed in a Christian land. And this same thief and heretic monk from the Island of Mikhailo

Rotomsky constantly sends to our land in the Chernigov District men of a military calling who kill and plunder our Ukrainian people and shed Christian blood, a thing that is unfitting for a Christian. And we, great-great Sovereign, marvel at the usages of your Kingdom that permits you to harbour and trust such robbers and apostates as this monk, asking no detailed questions about him, nor finding out who he is, and by thus believing this apostate robber setting up hatred between us great kings, abusing our peaceful relationship and causing bloodshed. Even if that robber were really Prince Dmitri Ugletsky risen from the dead, being the son of the seventh, and illegal wife, what could he do in our Kingdom? Should any foreign sovereign come to hear of such dishonest doings he would marvel and laugh, and your name and kingdom would be abused and blamed for permitting such things to come to pass, as that a robber should come to your great kingdom, and by his wickedness, confound your administration and gain the support of you and your Pans and your kingdom. And with our Majesty the Tsar and in our kingdom is the real sovereign son of your uncle, the Swedish King Eric Augustus, the Crown Prince, who is constantly asking our Majesty that we should permit him to attain the land of Livonia, and having pity unto Christianity and remembering how we kissed

the cross, and you kissed the cross over the treaty documents, and not wishing that peace should be destroyed between us, we refused the request of Augustus the Crown Prince, whereas you trusted and harboured in your kingdom the robber monk, and in his name sent Litvin, Shchasny, Sversky to the Cossacks of the Don, inducing them to come to our Ukrainia, and conferring favours on them, thus forgetting how you kissed the cross and our peaceful relationship. And it is known to us through a letter conveyed to us by his Ambassadors, that you have tried to set against us and our land the Crimean Tsar, Kazy-Girey, and that you have written to him by his Courier Anton Cherchashenin about this robber monk Grishko Otrepeev, saying that you had with you the young Tsar Dmitri Ugletsky, son of the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke Ivan Vasilevitch, Autocrat of all Russia, and that you, King Sigismond, would let him make war on us with the aid of your army; and you appealed to the Crimean Tsar to send his army to our land to help you, for which help you would give him as much of the crown treasures as he desired, and that you would thereafter befriend him; and in answer the Tsar Kazy-Girey sent you his Ambassador Seferkazy, Prince Dervishev, a son of Kulikov. And we, great Sovereign, were surprised that you, King Sigismond, could permit yourself to set heathens against Christians

and commit such unseemly deeds as to desire Christian bloodshed and to call a notorious apostate thief and heretic monk a son of a Tsar ! Such deeds are unfitting for a Christian Sovereign, and not only unfitting for great Sovereigns, like us, but unfitting even for *the common people*. It would be more seemly for us Christian Sovereigns to rise against heathens and traitors, not to seek Christian bloodshed by inciting heathens and traitors. We, great Sovereign, are not afraid, though you will attempt to set the Turk against us as well as the Crimean. With God's mercy we will withstand our enemies in as far as God will help us, and we seek no help of any one but God. Had it been in the days of the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke, Ivan Vasilevitch, Autocrat of all Russia, blessed be his memory, many enemies would have risen against his kingdom,—the Turkish Sultan, the Crimean Tsar, the great Nagais, Siberia and Kazan, King Stephen and the whole of Poland and Lithuania, with many hired men, and your father King John of Sweden—and in those days his Majesty the Tsar would not have sought help of any one but God, but would have stood alone with his army against all his enemies, and not invited either strangers or hired men to help him.

But to-day, by God's Mercy, we have no enemies and the Crimean Tsar is friendly with

us, and praying to God we will stand for our kissing of the cross and for the right and honour of the great Sovereigns, Anointed of God—the great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke, Ivan Vasilevitch, Autocrat of all Russia and his son, the great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Duke, Fedor Ivanovitch, Autocrat of all Russia, and for our own honour and the honour of the Kingdom, with the help that God will give us. And to him who sets heathens against Christians the blood be on his own head. That you should judge it a seeming thing to do, King Sigismond, during our time of truce, to forget the kissing of the cross, to perpetrate such unfitting things and destroy our friendly relations. We, great Sovereign, kept the terms of peace to the letter as they are written in the treaty documents and did not violate the kissing of the cross in anything whatsoever and had every intention of keeping to the terms in the future, whereas you initiated such unseemly things as are not done in Mussulman Kingdoms. You violated an agreement between two Sovereigns who in kissing the cross, pledged their sovereign souls. We send you our Ambassador Posnik Gregorevitch Ogarev to discover whether it was with your knowledge and with the consent of your Pans of the Rad that these unseemly things were enacted, and also to find out whether you mean to keep the terms of the treaty in the



БОРИСЪ ФЕОДОРОВИЧЪ ГОДУНОВЪ

Царь и Самодержецъ всероссійскій

Boris Feodorowicz Godunov

Tzaar et Autocrator totius Russiae.

THE TSAR BORIS GODOUNOV.

[To face page 16.]

future, so that we should know what measures to adopt against you. Of that, King Sigismond, I have to inform you—if you want to be at peace with us, Great Sovereign, as of old, and to keep the peace for the years stated in the treaty documents, over which we pledged our souls in kissing the cross, you must seek out that Apostate and heretic, the monk Grishko Otrepeev, who calls himself Prince Dmitri Ugletsky and the Councillors who brought him on that path, and having sought them out you must have that robber and his councillors punished, and you must return to us the Boyar Son, Peter Khrush-tchov and have all other matters of conflict put right and to forbid your people to come over the boundaries on to our land. If you fail to seek out and have punished the Apostate monk and heretic and his councillors or to return us the Boyar Son, our Peter Khrushtchov or to end the matter of conflict regarding boundaries, then the blood that will be shed for your un-seemly acts will be on your own head, and God will see that right is on our side and that we are innocent of that blood. And we will send our Ambassadors to all Christian kings—to our brother the great Sovereign and Cæsar of Rome and to the Pope of Rome and all other Christian Kings, and we will inform them of these matters and justify ourselves in their eyes that they may know that you are the

violater of our peaceful relationship and that you will be the cause of the bloodshed. And in all this we will beseech the mercy of God, in that we are innocent and did not desire to cause bloodshed, and thus justify ourselves before all the great Christian Kings. And you, King Sigismond should reply to us, Great Sovereign, about all you have perpetrated. And the Ambassador we send will speak in our name and you may believe all that he says.

Written by our great Sovereign in His Majesty's realm in the Capital of Moscow, in the year from the creation of the world, seven thousand, one hundred and thirteen, in the month of September.

III

LETTER OF DMITRI TO THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR

In July 1605 Dmitri also sent a letter to the English Ambassadour, Sir Thomas Smith, then in Archangel on the point of embarking for England, in which the Pretender asks the Ambassadour to inform King James I of his accession to the throne and also to assure the King of his intention to carry on the policy of friendship with England pursued by his father the Tsar Ivan, and by his immediate predecessors on the throne of Muscovy.

THE Copie of the translation of a Commission that was sent from the Mosko from the Emperour DEMETRY EVANOWICH, alias GRYSHCA OTREAP-YOVE by a Courtier named GAUARYLA SAMOYLOWICH SALMANOVE, who was sent downe to the Castle of *Archangell*, to Sir THOMAS SMITH, then Lord Embassadour : as followeth.

The great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Demetry Euanowich of all Russia, hath commanded Gauareela Samoylowich Salmanoue, to go to Vologda, and from Vologda to the new Castle of Archangell, or wheresoeuer he shall ouertake the English Ambassadour Sir Thomas Smith. Also when he hath ouertooke the Ambassadour, then Gauareele shall send the Ambassadour his

Interpreter Richard Finch, willing him to certifie vnto the Ambassadour, that the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Euonowich, sole commander of Russia, hath sent vnto him one of his Courtiers, in regard of his Maiesties affaires : and after some two houres respite, Gauareela himselfe shall ride to the Ambassadour, and deliuer vnto him his Maiesties speeches, as followeth.

The great Lord Emperour and great Duke *Demetry Euanowich* of all Russia, and of many Kingdoms Lord and commander, Hath commanded thee, Thomas the English Ambassadour, to certifie vnto *James, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, that by the iust iudgement of God, and his strange power, we are come and succeeded into the place of our Father and predecesours : as also we are come to the throne of the great and famous Kingdome of Vlodemer Mosco, and to the Empire of Cazan, Astracan and Siberia, and of all the Kingdomes of the Empire of Russia; being an Empire belonging to the great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia. Moreouer, we calling to memorie the sending, loue and amitie betwixt our Father, the great Lord and Emperour, the great Duke *Euan Vasilywich* of all Russia, of famous memorie : as also our Brother, the great Lord and Emperour and great Duke Feoder Euanowich of all Russia,

sole commander with their sister *Elizabeth* Queene of *England* : in the like manner doe we propose to haue sendings, and to be in loue with your Lord King *James*, and more then hath bin in former time. And in token of our said loue and amitie, we doe intend to fauour all his subjects in our Land, and to giue unto them freer libertie then they haue had heretofore; and you his Ambassadour, we haue commanded to dispatch without all delay or hindrance. Therefore we would have you to make known vnto your Lord King *James*, our Maiesties loue. And as soone as God shall grant the time of our Coronation to be finished, and that we are crowned with the Emperiall crowne of our predecessours, according to our manner and worthinesse; then we the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke *Demeetry Euanowich* of all Russia sole commander, will send our messenger to salute each other, according to the former manner. And concerning those Letters which were sent by you from Borris Godenoue, we would have you deliver them backe againe to our Courtier Ganareela, and after the deliuerie of our speeches to returne him to the Emperour, vnder written by the Chancellour Ofanasy Euanowich Vlaseou.

The last of Iuly 1605. at Archangell.

IV

DMITRI'S MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT

This copy of the Marriage Settlement made by Dmitri on behalf of Marina Mniszek, is an important document, as it proves the truth of certain of the accusations made against him by his enemies. Master, later Sir John, Merrick, to whom this letter is addressed, was for many years Agent of the Russia Company of British Merchants in Moscow, and enjoyed the confidence of the Russian Rulers no less than of his own Sovereigns.

THE Copie of the Translation of a Contract, made by the Emperour *Demetry Evanowich*, otherwise called *Gryshca Otreapyove*, and the daughter of the *Palatine Sendamersko*, chiefe Generall of Poland, in the time of *Demetry* his being in Poland, the which was sent ouer by Master *Iohn Merrick*, and translated out of Russe into English for the Kings Maiestie, as followeth.

A True Translation of a writing out of Polish into Russe, giuen by a Monke, who left his habit, called by the name of *Gryshca Otreapyoue*, supposed to be the Son of the Emperour *Euan Vassiliwich*, named *Demeetry Euanowich*, who gaue this assurance vnder his firme, to the *Palatine Sendamersko*, as also hath beene auouched by one *Bewcheesko*, principall Secretary vnto the said *Demetry*, before all the Nobilitie of Russia, that this said writing was written by the Generall his owne hand, as followeth.



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MARINA MNISZEK.
From an engraving by Anthony Oleszczynski.

Wee *Demetry Euanowich*, by the mercy of God, Prince of all Russia, of Owgleets Demetryuskoy, and Lord of all the Empire of Mosco, and being of the flocke of Preatroue; Calling to memorie our former life, being not in that forme and manner, as in other great Monarchies, as was in the time of our Predecessours, and other Christian people. Neuerthelesse, by the prouidence of God almightie, from whom proceedeth a beginning and an end, and from whom commeth life and death, We haue by him espied and made choise vnto our selfe, with good liking, in the time of our being in the Kingdome of Poland, of a Companion, of great and honorable birth, and of godly education, and is such a companion, with whom we shall by the mercie of God liue peaceably : which is the resplendent and Noble Lady Maryna, daughter to the great Palatine Sendemersko. And vpon this occasion haue taken him for our Father, and hauing requested of him to giue vnto vs his Daughter Maryna in mariage, and in regard that wee are not yet in our owne Kingdome, therefore doe we purpose hereafter to take order for her coming vnto vs with the Generall Sendamersko. Likewise, when I doe come to liue in my owne Kingdome, then shall the Palatine Sendamersko remember his faithfull and true promise with his Daughter, the Lady Maryna her vow, my selfe remembering my owne vow, and so both of vs to hold it

faithfully with loue and affection, and to that end doe we binde our selues by our writings. Likewise, first and principally, in the name of the holy Trinitie, I doe giue my faithfull and true princely promise, that I will take in marriage the Lady Maryna. If on the contrary, I doe not, then, I wish that I might giue this as a curse vpon my selfe : also, so soone as I shall make entrance into our Kingdome, and heritage of Mosco, then will I giue the Palatine, the Lord her Father, a reward of tenne thousand peeces of Polish gold. And to the Lady Maryna, our wife, in consideration of her great and long Iourney, as also for the prouiding and furnishing of her selfe, I will giue out of my Treasure Veluets wrought with Siluer and Gold. And the Messengers that shall be sent to me from the Lord her Father, or from the Lady her selfe, I shall not hold or keepe, but shall let them passe, and will reward them with gifts, which shall be a token of our Princely fauour; and thereunto doe we giue this our Princely promise. Secondly, as soone as we shall come to the Imperiall throne of our Father, then presently will we send our Embassadour to the resplendent King of Poland, to certifie vnto him, as also to intreate him to take knowledge of this businesse now passed betwixt vs, and withall, that he would be pleased to suffer vs to conclude and effect this our said businesse, without losse or hindrance. Also vnto

the forenamed Lady Maryna our wife, we giue two Lordships, viz. Nouogrod the great and Vobsko, with all the prouinces belonging to the same, with Counsellors, Gentlemen, and Yeoman, and Priests, fitting for a Congregation, to rule and gouerne freely with full authority in the same forme and manner, as if we ruled. And my selfe to haue no more right or title nor authoritie in the said two Cities of Nouogrod and Vobsko; and thereunto doe I binde my selfe with this writing, and doe wholly giue and bestow all on the said Lady Maryna that is contained in this writing, as soone as by Gods helpe we shall be married together, and thereunto haue giuen this our writing, sealed with our princely Seale. But if by chance our wife hath not by vs any children, then in those two Lordships before specified, shall shee place men in authoritie of her owne, to gouerne and to doe Iustice : and also it shall be free for the said men in authoritie, to giue Lands and Inheritance to their owne Souldiers, and to trade freely at pleasure, as shall be best liking to them, and as though it were in their owne true and lawfull dominion, and to build Monasteries, and to set vp the Romish Religion, and to haue Latine or Romish Priests, and Schooles. But she her selfe to abide and remaine with vs. And concerning her Priest, to haue as many as shall be needefull to be kept for her owne godly Romish Religion, without all let or hindrance :

and as wee our selfe by the mercy of God are already inclined to the same, so will we likewise with earnest care, seeke by all meanes to bring all the Kingdome of Mosco to the knowledge of the Romish Religion, and to set vp the Church of Rome. Also, if God should not grant vnto vs good successe, whereby this be performed within a yeare; then it shall be at the pleasure of our Father to separate mee and his daughter Maryna. But if it please him to forbear till another yeare, then doe I pass this my Bill, with my owne handwriting, and thereunto I have sworne my selfe, and giuen a vow according to the holy order, and all in this Bill to hold and keepe carefully : as also that I shall bring all the Russe people to the Latine Religion, Written at Sambore the fiue and twentieth of May, in Anno 1604. Vnderneath was his firme to all this foresaid as appeareth :

Prince *DEMETRY* OF OWGLETS.

A BLOUDIE TRAGEDIE

The author of the *Bloudie Tragedie* tells in a living and graphic manner what he has himself seen, heard and experienced during those interesting days in Moscow when life seemed to be one long Pageant which, however, in a moment turned into a terrible tragedy.

The worthy Dutch merchant evidently wrote his account in Dutch, for one of the English employés of the Dutch Company, W. Russell, translated it and published it in London, of which the only copy extant is in the British Muscum. It has served as the basis for all existing translations into other languages, and is a most valuable document bearing every mark of reliability. The Dutch merchant, however, was not the only foreigner to whom these days appeared in the light of a tragedy, as will be seen from other reports given in this volume.

THE
 REPORTE OF A BLOUDIE
 AND TERRIBLE MASSACRE IN
 THE CITY of MOSCO,
 with the fearefull and
 tragicall end of DEMETRIUS the last
 Duke, before him raigning
 at this present

* * * * *

AT LONDON

Printed by Val. Sims, for Samuel
 Macham, and Mathew Cooke,
 and are to be sold at their shop in Paules Churchyard,
 at the signe of the Tigershead.

1607.

(S)

THE REPORT OF A BLOUDIE AND TER-
rible Massacre in the Cittie of Mosco, with
the fearefull and tragicall end of *Deme-*
trius the last Duke, before him
raigning at this
present.

AFTER that *Peter Vendronitz Basmaneuf*, one of the principallest, and most valiant *Boyars*, had beene magnificently brought into the Citie, and most honourable received, by *Boritz Fendronitz Godena*, who was then Prince of the countrie: and all this, because of his magnanimous defence, and keeping of the Castle of *Novomerskigrod*, against the forces of *Demetri Ioanavitz*, and that for so valiant an act, he had beene rewarded by his said Prince, with great and rich presents, the which fell out, in the moneth of Februarie, 1605. It happened, that about the 13. of Aprill, the said *Boritz Fendronitz Godena* sodainlie died, not without suspition, of having beene poysoned: and he being interred the day after, his wife a desolate widdowe, and his sonne *Fender Borissovit*z, were incontinently placed in the Imperiall throne, and received for Prince, and Princesse, by every one of the Citie, and of the Countrie, who did them homage, and sware unto them, fidelitie, subjection, and obedience. Wherefore, they dispatched incontinently, the said *Peter Fendronitz*

Basmaneuf towards the Campe, as he that was Generall of al the men of warre to sweare them, according to the custome which was performed by the greatest part of them. But by reason that the Prince *Demetri Ioanovitz*, drew every day, nearer and nearer, and that his force apparently augmented, by reason of the great multitude of good fighting men, and other hyred souldiers, which were sent him out of Poland, so that those of the champion countrie, presently joyned with them, principally because by permission divine, all the world was of opinion and fullie perswaded, that hee was the man, which should be true heire, and successor to the Crowne : to which in like manner, many of the *Boyars*, willingly gaue an eare, and those also of *Boritz Fendronitz Godenaes* partie, who knew not well their owne power, and were ignorant how to prevaile with their naturall authority : as also, there was a great part of the men of warre which desired rather to worship the Sunne rysing, as the said *Basmaneuf* in like manner did, to insinuate betimes into the favour of their new Prince, so that in conclusion, all the Campe revolted, adhering with the greatest part of the *Almaines*, to that Prince *Demetrius* : who drew nearer every day, to the chiefe Citie of the countrie, and in his way all the world fell downe before him, and thus the 20. of June, he made his entrie into the Citie of Moscovie. The 28.

of the said moneth, there arrived also, the old Princesse, who was supposed to be the Mother, or rather indeede the wife, of the Tyrant *Ioan Vasiliovitz*, who during her widdow-head, had beene shut vp, in a little obscure cloyster, like a poore prisoner, which was distant an hundred leagues from the said Citie. And the said Prince, (by supposition hereonne) presented himselfe before her, accompanying her by the chariots side, with his head alwaies vncovered, and on foote, never mounting so much as on horse backe, whilst they entered into the Castle: where the said pretended mother, betooke her selfe to an other of the principall Monasteries, wherein there was none, but of the greatest Ladies in the countrie, and where she as yet remayneth, being very well entreated, as a Princesse, or Empresse; and as the wife, and dowager, of an Emperour of that countrie. This *Demetrius* stayed not long, but caused himselfe to be crowned, the 21. of the said moneth, notwithstanding, that the Emperours of *Russia* were alwaies wont, to put over this inauguration, vntill the fift of September, which is the day, when they begin to count the new yeare. But it seemes necessitie made him hasten the celebration of this solemnitie, for verie vrgent reasons. He had about his person, a guard of certaine *Almayne* Halberdiers, which hee brought with him out of *Poland*: but by reason that this was

not the manner and custome of other Princes, vpon their residence within the Citie; they were all presently discharged, as in like manner all souldiers of any strange nation, were licensed, and cashiered : the which was put in execution so confusedly, and sodainely, as diuers were very male-content therewith, by reason they gave them not that which was promised, whereby, they found themselves but evilly rewarded, and slenderly recompensed for their good services : and namelie, there was a certaine great Lord, and Prince of *Russia* the faire, who was called *Adam Visnevetskie*, that amongst other of his complaints intimated, how he had lent the said *Demetrius*, while he remayned in *Poland*, about the summe of 80000 Roubles (a kinde of coyne.) Wherefore it is, I cannot well tell, but the said Lord was dislodged, without giving him, either payment, or contentment : and now there runnes a rumor abroad, that he forageth upon the frontiers of that countrie, with diuers others of the same faction, like male-contented people, doing there al damage, and waste, that they can devise. At the verie beginning of this *Demetrius* his Empire, there were many, which as well in publike, as private, affirmed, that hee was in no sort, true successor, heire, or Prince of the countrie, amongst whome, was also a great Lord, and a Monke. But the said Monke was quicklie dispatched, and the Lord, whose name was

Vasilius Ioanovitz Cinskie (who is now Prince of the countrie) was brought into the open market place, before the seate of Justice, and stripped, readie to have his head cut off with an hatchet, who notwithstanding at the same instant, and by the intercession of the Chancellor *Ofsinassi Ioanovitz*, obtayned mercie, and preservation of his life, and was verie honourable entertayned, and from that time forward, one could heare no speech of any thing else, but daylie treasons, and all kinde of conspiracies : whereof haue ensued so manie tortures, flagellations, disgraces, releasements, confiscations, and censure of goods, with new confirmations of estates, as it was most wonderfull to heare : but this cursed race, and perverse generation of vipers, never ceased, vntill they had executed their tyranicall designes, during the government of a strange Prince. For his owne person he maintayned his greatnesse verie well : he was a man of meane stature, browne of hew, prompt to choller, but quickly appeased, he hath broken many a staffe, and given sentence of death, upon the Marshalles, and other officers, when they did but a little swarve from their dutie, he liked well to be on horse backe, and loved to go often on hunting, being a man of great expedition, and that would quickly order whatsoever came before him, and commanded with excellent forecast, even in the least matters :

he was a great enterpriser, of wonderfull courage, and inwardly conceived, that all the countrie of *Moscovia*, was not sufficient for him, to purchase any great renowne, so that he aspired after other countries also, and monarchies : at the beginning, he was verie affable, giving free accesse, even to the meanest : but after he grew to know, and vnderstand the *Russians* false pranks, he provided himselfe, of a guard of *Livonians*, and afterwarde also, of *Almaynes*, and other strangers, to witte, vnder three Captaines, a *French*, an *English*, and a *Scot*. Under the *French* Captaine, who was called *Iaques Margarett*, he had an hundred Archers, which carried Partisanes, and were richlie cladde in velvet, and cloth of gold. Under the *English* man, whose name was *Mathew Knowlson*, he had an hundred Halbardiers : as also vnder the *Scot*, called *Albert Fancie*, in like manner an hundred others, who were apparelled in tawnie cloth, with large gardes of velvet, and on festivall daies, in red crymson velvet. The Archers had for the most part, 70. Roubles a yeare, and besides this, the revenewe of certaine lands, whereon they might live. The Halbardiers, over and above their renew of land assigned them, had 40. Roubles a yeare, and two sutes of apparell : and besides these, he yet father determined, to have also entertained an hundred Muskettiers, yet this determination was laid a part. Besides the

delight which hee tooke in hunting, he also tooke great delight, to cast pieces of Artillerie, and not onlie to see them in hand, but also to prooue them himselfe : for which end, he caused Kaby-lines, and Kampiers to be erected, to imitate an assault, in which traynings, and exercises, hee would alwaies be in the thickest amongst others, so that somtimes he was but hardly entreated, and violently repulsed. Whilst this calme and peace endured, he sent the Lord *Ofsivassi Ivanovitz Vlussi*, his Ambassador into *Poland*, to demande the *Vayvod* of Sandimier his daughter in marriage, and to bring the said his spouse into the countrie. The Ambassadour arived at *Cracovia*, and after having procured, and obtayned his request, the avant nuptialles, or espousalles, were verie royally celebrated, and the said Lady, was placed at the vpper end of the King of *Poloniaes* table, above the King, and the Popes *Nuncio* : the like honour being done to the Ambassadour, as to one, holding the place of the Emperour of *Russia*. The young Prince of *Polonia*, together with the Kings sister, departed presently after, and so the said Ambassadour was conveyed with a most magnificent trayne, even to the borders, and arrived heere with the spouses father, in the Citie of *Mosco*, the 26. of Aprill, where the day following, he presently made his report, to Prince *Demetrius*, and the said *Vayvod* had also his accesse, in

saluting all the Courtiers, and verie friendlie embracing one another, who was lodged within the Castle, in *Boritz Fendronitz* lodging. The second of May, the new Empresse, made her glorious entrie into the Castle, being drawne in a Chariot all gilded, which was purposely made for her: and the same Ladie espousall, was accompanied with a great number of Lordes, and gentlemen, that is to say, first, with my Lord her father, the *Vayvod* of *Sandimier*; and his sonne, my Lord, the King of *Poloniaes* Ambassadors and the Lord *Swisnevit*z, brother to the other *Vayvod*: also the two brothers, *Steriofskie*, and many others, which were of the sute of the said Princesse: and then of the Princes traine, there was the Lord *Peter Basmanoff*, with all the great *Boyars* of the countrie, they being all most sumptuouslie clad, after the manner of that region: there was also many other Coaches, and Carosses of Ladies, and Gentlemen. The Princesse shewed her selfe benigne and gracious, in saluting not onlie, all the Ladies of the Court, but also, in discoursing verie affably, with diuers citizens wives: and thus they advanced towardes the Castle, where there was an high scaffold set up hard by the gate, upon the which, a number of trumpets stoode, and kettle drums, making a wonderfull sound, with the loud report of their instruments.

From thence the said Ladie Princesse, was

conducted to the Cloyser, where the Ladies, and Damoselles were resident, being the widdowes, and daughters of great Lordes, and Boyars of the countrie : and there was also the old Empresse where she was to stay, and spend the time, till the day of Nuptiall celebration.

The Russians enformed me, that these Ladies were there taught, and instructed in the articles of the faith, and the Russian ceremonies, and that the same lady Princesse, was constrayned to doe the like, and that after this, she must be baptized after the Russian manner : but I rather suppose, seeing Demetrius frequented thither so daylie, and was there so privately, that he taught her an other Catechisme : and so as the entrie into this Monastery, was made on a Friday, so was her coming forth, incontinently on the Wednesday following.

For shee was conducted againe into the Castle, into lodgings verie richly hung, and the gallerie (through which she was to passe) was all covered with red, crimson cloth, and the hangings of the said chambers, were for the most part, of cloth of gold.

The day following, at evensong, the espousalles were solemnized by the Patriarch in our Ladies Church, where shee was also crowned : The Temple round about, was hung with red cloth, with embroyderie of gold and silk, and the pavement was covered with the like.

The Crowne, Sceptre, Globe, and Sword, were all carried before the Emperour of Russia, and the Crowne, which was to be put on the Empresses head, was carried upon a cushen of red velvet : these solemnities continuing about the space of two houres, and thus they both went out of the church together, leading one another by the hand, with crownes on their heads : on the right hand, the Emperour was led by the Lord Knees, or Duke Fender Ivanovitz Alsholsta : and the Empresse on the left, by the Duchesse, wife to the said Lord.

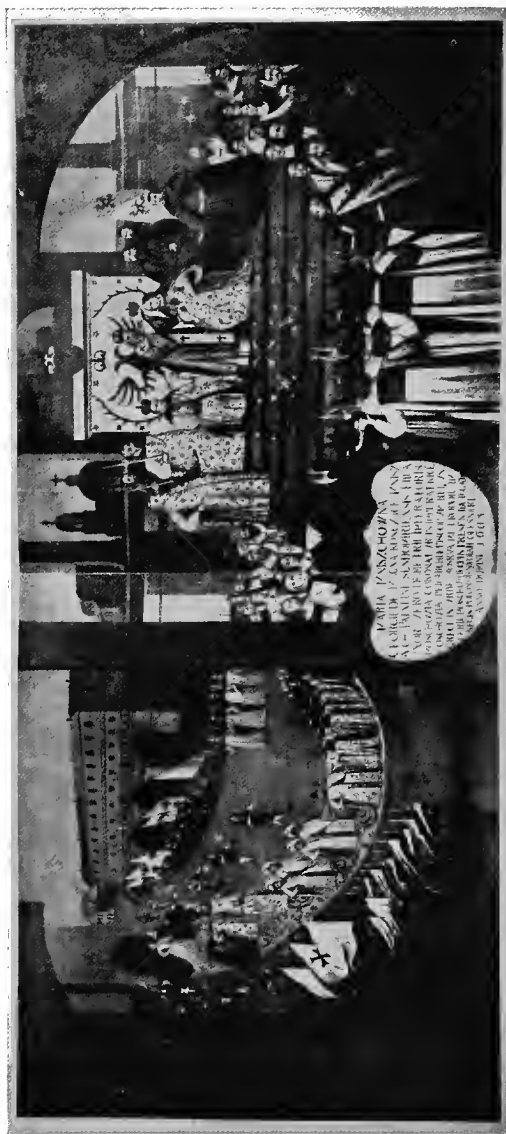
The trumpets, kettle drummes, and all other musical instruments, made a great noise, and all the Court, was in festivitie, and joy. But in the ending, there was no great preparation, for it seemes, that the greatest triumphing, was betwixt the new married couple. I forgot to relate, how the King of Poloniaes Ambassadour brought with him, very goodly presents, the which he presented, the day after his arivall : which were vessels of silver-guilt, with a great number of cuppes, and goblets, and two goodly horses, with a faire dogge : having delivered his letters of credence to the Emperours owne hands, who receiving the letter, and perceiving, that upon the title of direction, there was not mentioned the title of Emperour, and Monarch of Russia, he presently reiected the said letter, and delivered it himselfe to the same Ambassadour : where-

upon the Ambassadour replying, answered, that his grandfathers, and predecessors, neuer pretended, nor userped any such title, and that therefore, none was enjoyned, to entitle him otherwise, then by the name of great Duke : but if he did affect any higher stile then his progenitors, that then he should endeavour to conquer the Empires of great Tartaria, or attempt to subdue under himselfe, the scepter of the Turkish Emperour, and then he would be acknowledged of all the world, for an Emperour, and Monarch.

At which, so sharpe, and stinging an answer, the Vayvod, Father to the spouse, was mightilie astoniched, and Prince Demetrius so enraged, that hee would have cast his scepter at the Ambassadors head.

When this choler was over, some body demanded of the Ambassadour, whether the scepter was throwne at his head or no, if it had beene (said he) I would have taken it up, and gone away with the scepter, returning presently into my countrie : notwithstanding, all this spleene passed over easiely, and they retyred themselves peaceably, and verie good friends, but the letter was never read.

Mony also was throwne abroad, when the coronation was solemnized, and Friday, which was the 9. of May, that is to say, the day after the coronation, and consummation of the mar-



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THE MARRIAGE OF THE FALSE DMITRI AND MARINA MNISZEK IN MOSCOW IN THE YEAR 1605.

From a contemporary picture at present in the Winter Palace in Petrograd.

riage, the presents of the Ambassadors, and others of the court, should have been delivered, but it seemes, that this good Demetrius, who it may be (as having beene heretofore a Monke) was too devout upon his Breviarie, he said too long a Masse with his new mistris, in whose companie, he was so ravished, that he forgot to rise soone enough in the morning, and so shewing himselfe in publike very late, the same evening also there was no great banqueting at the Court.

But on Satterday, which was a very solemne festivall day, so as the Russians kept it with greater reverence then their Easter: it vexed the Russians wonderfully, to see this day prophaned by their Princes nuptialles, but notwithstanding this, the Emperour, with the Empresse, having their crownes upon their heads, were set in a great hall, where first the Patriarke, and then the Boyars, and in the end, Merchants strangers, and other men of qualitie, entered in, kissing the new Empresses hand, and everie one offering of their presents: amongst whome, was also your brother, and I, but I would to God we had kept our money in our purses, although we did it in hope, to have obtayned some privieledges; this we did out of a good intention, according as we had before received many faire promises from my Lord Vayvod: but the disastrous end of all this festivitie, did in like manner frustrate us of our designes.

Wherefore presently the tables were in readinesse, and we were invited, and sat in presence of our Emperour, at a most sumptuous dinner, and banquet, but after the manner of that Countrie, and we strangers were placed at the table, with our faces towards the Emperour, but the Russians were not permitted to doe so, but they must sit with their backs upon him : this feast might wel deserue a prettie treatise apart, but wee must reserue something till we returne, to report unto you, by worde of mouth, the brave drafts, that there they carowsed, and dranke off.

After this feast, they sent home unto us meate in gilded plate, but they forgot not quickly to redemaund their plate dishes againe, otherwise it might have been supposed, that we received them in recompence of our former presents.

There was very excellent music which was of Poland, among the followers of the said Ladie, and this was the best pastime we had, but it was a very short ioy and iubilie.

The Sunday following, there was yet farre greater feasting, and the King of Poloniaes Ambassadour, made it knowne before, that he would not sit downe at the table, except they did him the same honour, which was afforded the Ambassadour of Russia, in the Royal Court of Cracovia, where he was set downe at the Kings table, and so he requested, he might likewise have his place at the Imperiall table, to which

the Emperour would not in the beginning consent, but so he let him understand, that he should take his place, above all the Boyars, and great Lordes of the countrie: the which the said Polonian Ambassadour flatlie refused, so that at last, the Emperour permitted him to sit at his table, and so he came thither with his presents, which were far richer, than any of the former, and the banquet continued till it was late in the evening.

In the retiring of themselves, a Polonian strucke a Russian such a blowe, that being sore wounded, he cryed aloud, murder.

But the uproare was presently pacified, and the two daies following, there was nothing but sounding of trumpets, and kettle drummes, after the Imperiall manner.

It was supposed also, that the guard of the Boyares should have shot off their Harquebuzes, and that the Artillerie, and chambers laden with balles of artificiall fire, should have been discharged, in signe of ioy, the cannon was now drawne out of the Citie, and a fortresse of wood after the moderne fashion was built for an assault: but all this (as an evill presagement) was giuen over.

On Wednesday, a day whereon Russians eate no flesh, all was verie silent, and still, as also the Thursday following, and by reason the Emperor had a little inckling of what was a brewing amongst the Russians, having alwaies his eare,

and eye hereupon, he advised all the Polonians to stand upon their guard, commanding all those of his owne guard, that they should repaire to the Castle, with their harquebuzes charged, bullet in mouth, the match light, and in truth, there was to the number of 15000 Muscovites, which were now in readiness, to effect their enterprise : but by reason that the Polonians kept good watch, and shot off many Harqusbazadors in hearing, making a great rutte with their kettle drummes, the Russians durst attempt nothing : that present night, which might have served the other well, for an admonition, and fore-fight : as also they might clearely perceive, that the joy of this marriage sodainely ceased, and that all the time passed away, in an uncouth and dead silence, and the Friday after, there was none that would sell them any powder, or other war-like munition.

In the meane while, the young Empresse passed the time merrily amongst her damoselles, in measures, daunces, and masking, intending to have come the Sondag following, in a gallant mummerie to find out the Emperour, when he should be at a banquet, with the Great Lords and to present them yet further, with some new recreations, but all this was interrupted : for the Russians now plotted, to put in execution a designe, which long time before they had resolved upon : which was, the same Satterday, being

the 17. of May, according to the old stile, about seaven by our clockes in the morning. For this conspiracie to kill the Emperour, was proiected before the Vayvods comming into the countrie, with his daughter, they bethinking themselves long before, to entrap all the Polonians, which should then be there present, with their armes, and also because by the same meane, they would recover at that instant, all the treasure which has bin sent out of the countrie, to the said Vayvod, his daughter, and thus this tragedie began.

On the same day, most terribly, the Boyars, with their servants being mounted on horse backe, with harnesse, and coates of male on their backs, having lances in their handes, iavelines, and darts, bowes, and arrowes, cymitars, and all other kind of armes, the common people running up and downe, with their steele mases, stockes, and cymitars in their hands, the number of them being so great, as it seemed, that the Myridons swarmed as thicke as haile stones, all the world ranne hastily towards the Castle, crying no other thing, along the streets as they went, but, to the murder, to the fire, kill, kill, making one another beleeeve, that the Polonians massacred the Boyars within the Castle, though verie few of them were lodged within the same : but this was done to no other end, but the more to fleth the rakehell vulger, against the poore Polonians.

This uproare was so sodaine, that divers Russians, apparelled after the Polonian fashion, were slayne amiddist the presse, and incontinently, they belayed the Innes, and lodgings of all the Polonian Gentlemen, so as no bodie could either come forth, or assist one another, with their armes.

They ranne in thousands towards the Castle, where no resistance was made against them, by the Princes Archers, who were all Russians, and held correspondencie with the rest.

And evill fortune went so hard on this miserable Princes side, that where as he was wont to have every day, an 100 halberdiers, in a corps de guard, there was not now 30, no, not so much as one Captaine to be seene, and yet if they had beene there all together, and performed their best, in defending of themselves, it had beene nothing against so great a multitude of people, but the slaughter, and butchery had beene so much the greater, besides the evident danger, whereto wee Dutch Merchants, and of all other strange nations should have runne into.

The Russians therefore, cryed out to them of the guard, (so few of them as there were) that they should lay aside their armes, to come and ioyne with them, and take their part, and then they should have no hurt at all, the which they presently did, and willingly yeelded themselues, with their armes laid aside.

The Russians then ranne up towards the great Hall, with great presse, the above named Peter Basmaneuf going before them, who was a very faithfull friend of the Emperours, and who, heretofore had a servant, who many times spake very évillie of the Emperour, and defamed him amongst the common people; the same was he, who sodainely stroke his old master, in such a sort, that he died.

The great troupe then ranne with like haste, thorow the chambers, and even to the Emperours owne lodging, who hearing this tumult, leapt out of his bed, putting on his night gowne, and demaunding what the matter was: whereupon one of his household Russes answered, that he knew nothing, and that it might be they cryed out for some fire.

No, villainous traytor as thou art, (said the Emperour) it is not for fire they thus crie out, but there must needes be some other matter in it, for all the belles, as well as the Cittie, as of the Castle doe ring alarum.

Ah (saide he further) doe you think you have to do with an other Boritz and so hee made himselfe ready, tucking up his shirt sleeves very high, and calling for his two edged Curtleare, which they were wont to carry before him, to lay about him, within on all sides, but he who had it in keeping, could not finde it: and when he sawe the enemies troupe to presse forward,

to flie upon him, hee requested his Halberdiers which were before the gate, that they woulde not thus yeelde him into the Boyars handes, shutting the door himselfe, and so retiring within some other more inward chambers, even to the stuffe where he was wont to bathe himselfe, whither hee was presently pursued by his enemies, so that hee leaped downe out of a window, falling a marvellous height, uppon the pavement: for his lodging was in the toppe of the Castle, so as it was a great wonder, that he broke not his armes, and legs, or that he was not crushed all in pieces.

One of his Halberdiers, called Farstenberg, came presently downe the staires, and found him yet alive, but all his breast was bruised, so as he did nothing, but vomite blood, and his head was also all to be crushed and bloody.

The saide Halberdier, with others helpe, carried him up againe into his chamber, where he was alittle refreshed with waters and other comfortative drugges, while hee came alittle againe unto himselfe, and then the Boyars had much talke with him, and interrogated with him upon some points, but it could never yet be well knowne, what passed betwert them. And to the end that the Halberdier might divulge nothing of such matters as had passed betwirt them, they presently killed him; and afterwards they slew their Prince, with many cuttes and thrusts, and

so they drew out his body, throwing it downe from aloft with a cord fastened about his privities, and thus hacked, dragged it towards the market place like a dogge or some other vile carrion, leaving thus his stript and naked dead body, to the view of all the world, upon a plancher or stage erected on high, till the forth day after, and under him the body of his friend Peter Basmaneuf.

There went every day thither great numbers of men and women, to see this hideous sight, and they put an ugly vilard upon the Emperours belly, which they had found amongst the Empresses spoys, and in his mouth the flute, with a kind of little bagpipe, under the arme with a peece of money of the valew of halfe a Pater, giving to understand by this, that for the peece of money hee gave them a hunts up, or fit of an old song.

The popular sort in the meane while, forbare not to runne headlong up and downe the Castle, and into the Polonians lodgings, killing divers of them, and pilling of their houses, ransacking them in such sorte as they had not a shirt left to putte on their bodies.

The Musitions defended themselves a good while, and five or six of them escaped, but the rest to the number of about twenty persons, were all hewen in peeces.

The Lord Vayvods house, by reason it was

environed with good walles, and had also a good guard within, was saved: the gates were well baricadoed without, to the end that no man might go out or fly away. I leave every man now to imagine, how this poore Princesse with all her Ladies and Damosels, were discomforted in their hearts: for she was presently robbed and spoyled of all her riches, iewells, mooveables, apparrell; and even the cowches, and beds whereon she reposed, were taken away from under her: as also all the Lords and Polonian Gentlemen were robbed of all the iewels and presents that had before beene given them. True it is, that they within the towne defended themselves very valiantly in their Innes, but in the end they were driven to yeelde, and leave the boote to the others.

The Lorde of Vituenetskie onely saved himselfe, and his traine, and killed many Russes, though they had planted the canon against his house, and at last seeing himselfe hardly beset, he hung out a white cloth, in signe that hee determined to have yeelded, causing presently a number of duckats to be scattered before his chamber doore.

The Russians ranne thicke and threefolde to annoint their fingers herewith, but his people issued out sodainely upon them, and so flashing and hewing on every side, they slue above an hundred Russes, and made an open way for

themselves to goe out, when in the meane while, divers Boyars of the Castle came, who tooke the said Lord into their protection, and drive out all the common people, so that in the end, all this allarum was appeased.

A Polish Gentleman called Nimetskie, brought thither sundry iewels of great vawew, and had delivered them to the Emperour but the day before: as a servant of the Lord Volskie did the like, having made shew in the Court of divers goodly tapistries which he brought, all these things were taken from them.

But above others, divers Almaine and Italian Merchants are to be lamented, amongst whom, there was a very honourable aged man, who was called John Ambrosio Celaria Mylanese, that had also delivered out of his handes at the Court, to the vawew of three and twenty thousand Florines, who was there most villainously murdered, by the rascall vulgar.

In the same lodging remayned also two servants belonging to Maister Philip Henbar, of Ausburg, who were recommended unto me by my friends at Croco, and had also delivered for the value of above 25000 florines in merchandise solde to the Emperour, and yet they had taken from them, besides above 10000 florines more.

There is yet here a Merchant of Ausburg, called Andrew Nathan, which was out in the Court, above 200000 florins, being robbed also of an

10000 florins in goods and merchandise. Here is also a Russian Merchant of Lemberg, called Nicholas, who hath also lost great store of goods.

I am afraid they will never recover any repayment thereof; I spake twice with the Emperours brother now reigning, by way of commending unto him, the affaires of these honest men, and presented unto him their petitions, to the end, that by his mediation, something might be obtained from the Emperour : but he gave me no other answere, but that his merchandise was never delivered to the precedent Emperour, by the Treasurer of Russia, but that the Polonians greased their fingers with it, so that the Russians will not now, heare on that side, they alleadging further, that none of all these things were ever found in the Treasurie, but that this Royster (for he tearmed him Rostrige, which is to say, a riotous or debauched monke, for so he called the dead Prince) had sent it all out of the countrie, and that there was no more money remayning in the Treasurie, to pay such summes.

These Almayne Merchants, had also one of their servants, which was borne in Antwerpe, being named Jagues, who was miserablie slaine, in this popular farie, and was throwne amongst other dead bodies into a ditch, but I caused him to be found and drawne out, and did honourably burie him.

All things had such lamentable issue, in this

terrible daies worke, and the peoples crie was so dreadfull, the alarum bell ringing continually, and there being no end of slaughter, that I was in great anguish of mind, especially when I sawe, that they sacked the next house to my lodging, where the Lord Peter Basomaneuf dwelled, looking every minute, for no better a bargaine than the rest: but in the end, I took courage, and mounting on horse back, I brake through the presse, being accompanied with three of my servants, committing my selfe to Gods protection, and I went to find out one of the Lords and Boyars, to obtaine from them a safe conduct for feare of being massacred in mine owne house, the number of them was so great, whome I mette with their cymitars all bloudie, in so fearefull a manner, that I was many times exceedingly affrighted, and thought to have forsaken my way, which had beene my apparent death.

But God was so gracious to me, that I mette in the streetes two Marshalles, which were officers of Justice in the Citie, who left me one of their men, for my guide, and guard, with whome I returned to my lodging, but one of my servants remayned, and went with them, who procured me further sixe others of their men, to withstand them in the Justices name if the multitude should have gone about to force my house.

I can never be sufficiently thankfull to God,

for preserving me in this so evident and manifest a danger.

And so this alarum continued, from morning till evening, but the night following, there was such a deepe silence over all this great Citie, as though there had not beene one living soule therein.

The Innes of the Polonian Lords, were environed round about and kept with a good guard, and all their armes taken from them.

If this nation had kept good centinell, and held themselves in armes, and good order, or but set fire to some parts of the Citie, when the alarum began, it had beene the horriblest slaughter, and the greatest effusion of bloud that ever was heard of : for there was a great number of them, and they were well horsed, and had good armes, and there, the houses are all of woode : but God had his hand herein, so that of the two, the lesse calamitie happened : for the Polonians have no goodnesse in them, but are full out as villanous, and bad as the Russians.

The furie being thus pacified by the Emperours brother, being assisted by the principall Lords, and Boyars, they assembled together about the election of another Emperour, and so they ioyntly elected for they Prince, the Lord Vasilius Inavonitz Cintskie, and this election was made, on the 20 of May. Amongst the Dukes of this countrie, he is one of the most auncient, and of the

auncientest, and most renowned familie, of all the Boyars : God give him a long and happie life, and make him to governe well and iustlie.

The 29 of May, Demetrius his body, was dis-interned, and drawne out of the Citie, it being there burnt, and consumed to ashes, and the multitude said, they would have it thus pre-formed : alleadging, how it was to prevent the charmes of that dead Enchaunter.

For the same night after he was slaine, there was such a great, and wonderfull frost, that all the corne of the fields was spoyled, and as divers verie old men also affirmed, in their life time, they never heard of the like, in so forward a season of the Spring. All their fruites, and gardens were spoyled, and the leaves of the trees in the forrests, were so withered, as it was to be feared, that this would cause a great dearth of all things throughout the whole Countrie : all corne grew presently double, above the ordinarie prise, but the night after his bodie was burnt, it was yet a far greater frost, so that these barbarous, and infidell people beleewe, that in his life time, he was a great Nigromancer, but they should rathe have ascribed it, to the great enormitie of their owne grievous sinnes.

The thirtie day of the same month the Articles of his condemnation were publikely read, and wherefore they made him to be dispatched after this manner. First, they alleadged that he had

beene a shauen and graduated monke, whose kinsmen, sisters, and brothers were yet liuing, that is, his father in lawe, and his owne mother, who were brought into the market place before all the people, and their order is so strict, that euery professed Monke, leauing his order, and prophaning his sacred vow, ought to be burned, and the like is observed towards Nunnes, there being no remission or pardon graunted for such an offence. For his father in lawe, his owne mother, and his brother, who were exposed, (as hath beene said) to the view of the whole world, they were reputed to be the same, though they resembled him in nothing at all, and whether they had suborned them, to confesse such a matter in the presence of all men, God knowes, this I may be bolde to affirme, that I see them as wel as many others, and I also sawe them made, to kisse a crosse, and take an oathe thereon, that his name was *Gregorie*, and in their language *Griskie Strepy*, and that he was a Monke of this Cittie in the monasterie of the Castle : men say, that in his youth he was very diligent to reade and write, and delighted much to peruse and reade Histories and Chronicles, hauing sometimes serued in the Patriarkes Court, for a Singing man and a Musitian, euer carefully obseruing whatsoeuer might further his intentions, neither would he euer goe into the said monastery, as long as hee was emperour, fearing (as

men saie) to be knowne by some of those monks, that were drooping and olde, like the good olde Jades of *Galicia*. Men say likewise, that at *Galicia*, where hee was borne, hee caused his father in law, his mother, brothers, and al the rest of his kindred, to the number of three score persons, to be imprisoned in a tower: all this went currant amongst the common people.

The second point was, that he was a Magitian, and that by enchantment he had obtained so many victories, and prosperous successe in attaining to the Crowne.

The third Article was, that he was knowne to be an heretike, that hee neuer obserued their feasts, nor fasts, and that hee made no accompt of their Images and ceremonies.

The fourth Article imputed to him, was, that hee had entered into a dangerous and pernicious conspiracie with the Pope, against their Religion, wholly to supplant that, and to bring in the Romane rites, euen as there were written Letters of the Popes found to that effect, while hee was emperour, wherein hee was exhorted, to put in execution, what hee had before so oftentimes promised to the saide Pope, perswading him, to procure in such sort, that the Jesuites, and other Romish Priestes, might be established in their Churches, and that Temples and Colleges might be allotted them, to reforme the whole Country.

For the fift imputation, there were Letters

brought forth, wherein he had treated and concluded with the *Vayvod*, to give him the principalltie of *Smolenko*, and to his wife, the principalltie of *Novigrod*, to their sonne the country of *Dibiria*, and that they had plotted together to haue massacred all the *Boyars*, to extirpate their whole race, and to plant in their stead, the Polonian *Vayvodes*, and to constitute new *Castelans*, and *Starostes*, *sed haec non credo*: as also that he had drawen the Canon out of the Cittie, and making shew, as though he intended it for some pastime or triumph, to turn them against the Cittie, and so to haue bestowed on them so many canonadoes crosse, or a thwart, for their disseverance one from another, and thereupon the *Polonians* should haue fallen into the Cittie, and killed all those which made any resistance, and so to haue made themselues absolute Lordes of the chiefe Cittie in the Country, which might very well haue beene effected, if the Russians had not stode well upon their guard: for, whosoeuer is maister of that Cittie, he is Lord of the whole country. Howsoeuer it was, I referre myselfe to a further time, which will discouer all.

Sixtly, they complained greatly, because the *Boyars* and great Lords of the countrie had so little, and in a manner, no accesse at all to the Prince, who did disdaine them, and after such a sort, as they were faine to attend before the

Pallace gate, and oftentimes, were also repulsed by the Halberdiers, whereas the *Polonians*, entred as often as they would, and being oftentimes outraged, by this *Polonian* nation.

When they made their complaints, *surdo narrabant fabulam*; there was no iustice done, in revenge of the wrongs they endured, and moreover it was imputed unto him, that he vnder-tooke all his affaires, without demaunding their counsalle, or advise in any thing, and when they replied to any point, difficult, or doubtfull, they were driven away with hand-blowes, disgraced, and sent into exile.

The seaventh was a complaint: about the great, and excessive expence he had beene at. He made him a gilded Throne, on each side of the same, there were six Lyons gilded, all of massie silver, the which no other great Duke euer did, and the Scepter and Crowne was neuer carried before any other, as it was before this man, and that exceeding all his predecessors, hee had bought many jewelles, which were found in his cabbinet, as also a number of other pretious things, presenting diuers very prodigally: and hauing sent into *Polonia* huge summes of money, so as the treasure was cleane exhausted, and therefore hee had layde great taxes and impositions vpon the country, not rewarding for all this, those which deserued well, but euer fauouring, rather flatterers, Buffons, and Juglers, to whome

hee would vsually giue rich giftes, and that very largely too.

Eightly, hee was greeuously accused to haue prophaned the sacred calling of vowed Virgins, in comming to the monastery of Nunnes where his wife was : and going to see them oftentimes in very dissolute fashion, bringing thither musitians with him, reveling and dauncing there, and causing them to sing such filthie songs, as where-with these Virgins were greatly scandalized, who reputed it for a wonderful sinne : but aboue all, for hauing violated some of them, and amongst the rest, one of *Boritz Fendronitz* his daughters, as also for celebrating his nuptialles on the festiuall day of Saint *Nicholas*, which he should haue held in great reuerence, according to the custome of all the country. And further, that he had the image of the holie Virgin Marie standing vppon the bolster of his bed, when he went to lie with his new Spouse : for making little accompt of monkes and Priests, but causing them to be whipped, like poore beasts, if they mumbled but a word betwixt their teeth, that he had beene a monke himselfe : and that he borrowed tenne thousand Roubles out of a Cloyster, to repay them, *ad calendas Graecas*, with other such like matters.

Ninthly, he was accused to haue beene the Authour, and occasion of a great spoyle, and domage, which fell out vppon the riuer of *Volga*,

causing himselfe by false markes to be proclaimed the sonne of *Fender Iuanowitz*, whome vnder this pretext he had suborned to come to his succour, with many thousand *Cosaques*, to be the more secured of the countrey. Surely it must needes be confessed, that he was the cause of marueilous ruine to the country, for all the Ports of *Astracasses* were sacked, and all the goodes and marchandize there, robbed, and pilld : and out of *Persia* there comes great and inestimable treasure. And though some will say, that the reuenues of all the countrey of *Russie* amounteth to aboue twelue millions : so we must suppose too, that all this was too little for such a prodigall Steward, and if he meant to continue his port and traine as hee hadde begunne.

The tenth complaint was (and questionlesse it was an insupportable thing) of the Polonian insolencies, outrages, and villanies, for they esteemed the *Russes* but as dogges, threatening them euery day, beating them like slaues, and saying oftentimes, that they would make them slaues. The women, yea the Ladies and wiues of the principallest amongst the *Boyars*, durst not any more goe abroad in the streetes, nay they would goe and seize upon them in their houses and lodgings, and where an husband walked with his Wife holding her by the hand, they haue cut off his arme, and led away his Wife. Upon all these complaintes, there was

neuer no Justice executed. It so happened, that a Polonian was to be put to death, for an offence committed, and as they led the malefactor out of the towne, the *Poles* issued out and slew the executioner, and freed their companion, so that this seemed a scourge and punishment prepared for them, by the wrath, and vengeance of god. They further alledge, infinit other faults, but if these aboue alleadged, onlie are true, such a varlet well deserved death : yet it hadde beene much more laudable, to haue performed it, by course of Justice. Some saide, that a little before the verie moment of his death, he requested, that he might make his confession publikely, before all the world, but it was then too late : I am of opinion, if he had borne himselfe more mildely, without meddling with the *Poles*, and matched with some Lady of the countrey, applying him selfe to their humor, though he had beene baser then a paunch-fed Monke, yet might he haue kept the Crowne on his head : but I beleue that the Pope, with his Seminaries, and Jesuites, were a principal cause of his ruine, and totall subuersion. For these murderers of Princes would needes haue made a Monke, too quickly, and they as suddenly light within the Bee hiue. It is pittie that their heads, were no better shauen, but they were transformed, too cunningly in to secular habit : such maskers, neuer paint themselues lightly, but in greene.

I beleeeue likewise, that the *Polackes*, will take heede hereafter, how they bee so insolent as they haue beene, they which yet remaine here behind, beare themselues, and goe in the streetes as meekely as Lambes, they are distributed into diuers troupes, of 2. and 3. hundred in a troupe; and so they are sent to *Smolensko*, and *Polotsko*, some horses being appoynted them for their conueyance: and to the end they should not take away those of the paisants, but finding their guards asleepe, they killed about a score of them, but the rest awaking, reuenged themselues presently vpon the field, and slew about five and thirty Polonians, so that they are all cast into gaoles and prisons, of which, peradventure not one shall escape. I iudge that in al, there came short home about twelue hundred *Poles*, and foure hundred *Russes* besides. An Ambassador is sent from hence, into *Poland*, to informe the King of all which passed heere, and to treat of a peace, and in the meane while, the *Vayuod* must stay here with all the Lords and Gentlemen about him (and so according to the aunswere good or bad, which hee returnes, they shall be held or released.)

It is reported since, by those that haue lately come ouer, that *Iuan Basiliuiz* sonne, the right *Demetrius*, was by this present Emperour digged out of his graue, hauing beene fifteene yeeres buried before at *Ouglitz*, whom he presented to

the view of many, his body being yet whole and entire, and holding nuttes in his handes, with which hee was buried, vsing to play with them when hee was a childe. Hee is interred in the Castell Church of Archangell, amongst the Emperours, and the people ascribe vnto him the working of myracles, which they say are daily perfourmed: and when they happen, generall notice is giuen thereof, by the sound of a Bell. They are determined to build a Church ouer him, and to worship him as a Saint.

These be the principallest of such occurrences as hapned in this Cittie, I beseech God to preserue vs from a greater sedition yet suspected.

The fifteenth day of June the like beganne againe, for this acursed vulgar are euer hungry after boote and spoile, they would faine euery day beginne againe their former garboiles, but this last commotion was presently pacified by the *Boyars*.

FINIS

VI

REPORT OF CAPTAIN GILBERT, OF DMITRI'S BODYGUARD

As a link between the events described by the Dutch eyewitness and those which followed after the death of the false Dmitri, the report of Captain Gilbert, one of the members of Dmitri's foreign bodyguard, is given as Purchas has taken it down from a friend of that gallant Scotchman. It appears that many people believed in the miraculous escape of Dmitri and his wife.

THUS is Demetrius painted out by his Enemies, which perhaps were not altogether led with simplicitie of truth, but in many things made him worse, that they might make their owne cause (bad enough) to appeare better. They tell also of great outrages committed by the Poles, (like those sometimes here in England by the Danes) their proud insulting ouer the men, rauishments of women fetching them out of their houses and husbands bosomes to serue their lusts: neither did Demetrius, as they say, punish them; one onely being sentenced, and hee violently rescued from execution by the Poles. They say also that Demetrius his body was plucked out of the graue and burnt, the ashes throwne into the aire, the seeds, as the sequele seemed to shew, of many Demetris after.

Suiskey is also by some reported to haue beene chosen by lot in this manner. The Nobles cast lots foure times to receiue a Successor, as it were, by diuine sentence in lot-oracle: in euery of which times the lot fell vpon Suiskey (for as some say, there were three or foure neerer then hee) he modestly refusing, and enforced by constancy of the various lot to accept that Scepter; whereof others thinke him as ambitious, as was modest Boris before him. Howeuér, he hath left his name and memorie written in as blacke inke as either Boris or Demetrius, if Reports bee true, which say that he proued a wicked Prince, partly by poison, partly by the Tartars, making away all, whose blood might by Nobilitie threaten a probabilitie of their prouing his Corriuals. Yea, he is said to haue sent for witches and sorcerers, Laps, Samoeds, Tartars, or whatsoeuer other Nation yeelded such Hell-hags, incarnate Fiends, the Deuils blacke guard, to consult about his Empire and succession; and (the Deuill is a murtherer) to haue sealed their predictions with blood. Thus being told that one Michalowich should succeed, he is said presently to haue plotted the death of three grandes of that name, his best seruants; yet the superstitious people obserue (after much chopping and changing) that in little time the State was settled on one of that Name, which still swaieth the Scepter;

Who then being a youth of no State-terror, was his attendant in Court and bare an Axe (after their custome) before him.

One of his first Acts was to send into Poland an Embassage, which could not bee admitted audience till Ianuarie. Hee thereby complayned of Sandomerskos artes which obtruded that Changeling on Russia, whereby aboue two hundred of principall Nobilitie had lost their liues : demanding restitution of the moneys which that Imposter had caused to bee transported into Poland, and restitution of goods, otherwise hee would with Charles of Sweden Duke of Suderman, enter Poland with an Armie to bee reuenged for the league (which they had sworne) broken, &c. Sigismund answered modestly, with excuse of their helping the right Heire in their conceits, and that his desire was that peace should continue (being loth in times then tumultuous at home, to prouoke a forreine enemie, so neere in dwelling, so remote in affection) Sandomersko still remayned prisoner in Russia. But things being better settled in Poland, and growing worse in Russia, by the dislike conceived against Suiskey, a double danger grew to him both from another reuiued Demetrius (yea many pretending that Name and Title did after arise, as out of his dispersed ashes) within Russia; and from the Poles without, willing both to assist him vnder colour of Reuenge, and with hope of

Conquest also, to inuade and fish for themselves in troubled waters.

As for that Demetrius new risen from the dead (not to mention the others of inferiour note) I shall relate Captaine Gilberts reports which knew him and was by him entertayned, as I receiued them of a iudicious friend of mine, which had them from his owne mouth. Hee being at Coluga receiued a Letter from this new Demetrius, so written that it appeared to bee of the former Demetrius his owne hand : and thus also he vsed to doe to others being able to counterfeit his writing, and to relate such other particulars as seemed impossible to any but Demetrius to doe. Hereupon Captaine Gilbert went with his Guard of Souldiers to meete him and the Polake Generall which came with him. And whiles he was yet a good distance off, Ah (this Demetrius called to him) my true seruant, where were you and my Guard, when the villaines hurt me? but if I had followed the counsell which you gaue me such a time in such a place (relating the particulars) I had preuented them. This circumstance had moued him to beleeeue this to be the former Demetrius, had not he differed from this in person, as night from day. Thus also he said he affirmed to the Pole Generall, asking him how he liked this Demetrius, that This and That were as like as Night and Day (for the

former was of goodly personage and this a very deformed wretch.) The Pole replied, "It is no matter, Capitaine, this Demetrius shall serue our turne to bee reuenged of the perfidious and bloudie Russe." And this Demetrius acted the other so neerly, and could so cunningly and confidently relate particular passages of past occurrences, that the Lady of Demetrius was by him bedded. Thus was miserable Russia ground betwixt these two Mill-stones, the pretending Demetrius and the super-intending Pole. Suiskey is helped not a little by the English, which brought him strangely and aduenturously powder and munition to his Castle to Mosco, which yet at last by reuolt of the Citizens deliuers vp it selfe and him to the Poles. And as for that pretending Demetrius, he was afterwards murdered in his Campe by a Tartar. But it is meet to take hereof larger view.

Sigismund King of Poland layeth claime to Sweden, as sonne to King Iohn (who is said to haue vniustly depriued Ericus of his life and Kingdome) whose younger brother Duke Charles first receiued his Nephew King Sigismund (then also elected and still continuing King of Poland) but vpon warres which after arose betwixt them, the issue was, that the Pole holds the Title; but Charles obtayned both Regall Title and Power, wherein his Sonne hath succeeded. Suisky takes hold of this difference, and Charles assists him

with an Armie sent vnder the command of Pontus de la Gard a French Coronell, consisting of English, French and Scots. These march to Mosco, which the new Demetrius and Poles held besieged, and put Demetrius into such feare, that not trusting the Pole, and fearing his Aduersaries on both sides, he stole away by night with a small retinue: and the Poles obtayned Articles of composition and departed. But miserable were the distresses by famine, fire, sword, rapes, and other outrages in other parts of Russia, caused by other Poles; and yet these but as a beginning and prelude to other following. For the King of Poland entred with a huge Armie (some say of an hundred thousand men) inuaded the Muscouite, and especially laid siege to Smolensko. He is reported thence to haue sent twentie thousand to besiege Mosco.

Suisky had sent to King Charles for more aide, which he procured out of England, and other Countries, of which I had rather let you heare an eye-witnesse speake of this, as elsewhere other English men haue related their owne voyages. This indeed deserueth relation, as a tragedie of meaner persons with manifold vicissitudes of miseries (attending voluntarie Souldiers) as before you haue seene tragedies of Princes and Grandes.

* * * * *

VII

BRERETON'S ACCOUNT OF THE WARS IN RUSSIA

The sequence of the tragedy is carried on in *The Newes of the Present Miserie*, the original of which was published in 1614, and deals with the wars between the Tsar Vassili Shuisky, herein called "Vansusce," the King of Poland and the second Pretender Dmitri. The Tsar Vassili is compelled by circumstances to ask, much against his will, assistance from King Charles, as Sweden was the hereditary foe of Russia at that time, and the King of Swethland, or Sweden, more from enmity against the King of Poland than for love of the Russians, sends an army of volunteers under General de la Gardie to the aid of Shuisky.

NEWES OF THE PRESENT MISERIES OF RUSHIA :

Occasioned
BY THE LATE WARRE IN THAT COUNTRY.

Commenced
Betweene { *Sigismond* now King of *Poland*.
 Charles late King of *Swethland*.
 Demetrius, the last of that Name,
 Emperour of *Rushia*.

Together with the Memorable occurrences of our owne
Nationall Forces, English, and Scottes, vnder
the Pay of the now King of *Swethland*.

LONDON

Printed for *John Bache*, and are to be sold at
his shop on the backe-side of the Royall
Exchange. 1614.

T O T H E R I G H T

HONORABLE SIR ROBERT CARRE, KNIGHT,
VISCOUNT ROCHESTER, EARL OF SOMERSET,

Knight of the most Noble Order of the
Garter, and one of his Maiesties
most honorable priuy
Counsell.

IF in the great affairs of the kingdome, wherein (vnder our excellent Head) your Lordship is worthily employed as a principall member, there be any leasure left from the businesse of your high place, It may then please your Lordship to cast a fauourable aspect vpon the humble Labours of such whom Fortune, and their meane deseruings keepes vnder in the obscure ranke of Pouerty. Amongst whom, I haue presumed to write this little Booke, as a Discoursiue Treatise vpon the Miseries of *Russia*, occasioned by the late forreine and intestine warre in that Country, which I haue aduentured to present vnto your Honours view (if a pretious eie may looke vpon a woorthlesse object) and it is not the meanest vertue, to respect the poorest fortune for take away goodnesse from great men: to whom shall the poore flee for refuge? I haue therefore made bolde to shrowd it vnder the Patronage of your Honour, which I wish may still transcend, vntill with your high woorth it hold correspondencie. And that these holy

Nuptiall bands, whereby you are now honourably lincked into the Noble House of *Norfolke*, euen by the Soueraigne appointment of the most high God, beyond the subordinate power of Destiny, may till death proue indissoluble, more hard to be vntwined, then that Gordious knotte, wherein lay infoulded the fate of *Asia*, That you may liue long most happy, as you are now most worthy, both in your high Stile, State, Place, Fortune, and a Kings fauour.

Your Honors in all humble duty,

HENRY BRERETON.

THE WARRE AND MISERIES OF RUSHIA.

CHAP. 1

Demetrius the last of that name, after the death of his father Basilius, succeeds him in the Empire, he distrusteth his owne people, and many of his Nobility, and striues to strengthen his estate by marriage with a young Lady neere in bloud to Sigismond king of Poland.

OF all the accidents that I haue read or heard of in the oppression of any State or Kingdome whatsoeuer, either for the present or precedent ages, there hath none in my opinion beene found so sudden, strange and variable, with occurrants so doubtfull, and euent so fatall, both to Prince and People, to the inuader and the inuaded, with such deuastation of Country, depopulation of Townes, combustion of Cities, such deflowrings,

rauishments, murthers, and horrible treasons, fire, sword, and famine, the tragicke executioners of these miseries, plots and stratagems deuised in hell by diuels, and acted by men on earth : as hath happened of late yeeres, and is not yet concluded betweene *Sigismond* nowe King of *Poland*, *Charles* King of *Swethland*, and *Demetrius* the last of that name, called the great Duke of *Muscovia*, or Emperour of *Russia*.

And this vnhappy countrey, which before flourished in great wealth, state, pleasure and peaceable commerce with strangers, no warre at hand, nor none towards, but such as no man looked for, was on the sudden, before a mans mind could thinke in such a case of a kingdomes alteration, made the woefull Sceane and publicke stage whereon so many bloody parts haue bene acted on all hands, as haue brought wretchednesse to the people liuing, and prepared misery for the child vnborne, which warre well considered, God neuer gaue vnto the world a more memorable example, either in what vnsurety stands the state of any kingdome or Nation that is not propt and supported by the high hand of Heauen, or what miseries and calamities succeed in the progresse of such bloody and dangerous intendments, to a people so secure. And finally, what end followes such treasonable and despiteous crueltie, as the lamentable sequell of this history shall declare.



DIMITR. MARYNA. MNISZEK
1605.

(To face page 72.)

THE FALSE DMITRI, THE VOYEVOD MNISZEK, MARINA AND HER SON.
1605.

From an engraving by Anthony Oleszczynski.

You shall therefore vnderstand that *Demetrius*, the last of that name, Emperour of *Rushia*, after the death of his father *Basilius*, called for his stearne and austere gouvernement, as well by strangers, as his owne naturall subiects, the great Tyrant of *Rushia* succeeded him, both in the Empire and hatred of his subiects: for notwithstanding that *Demetrius* was a most excellent Prince, framd euen in the prodigality of Nature, endued with many commendable parts, and heroyicke vertues, in the flower of all his youth and beauty, which commonly the people do much esteeme full of rich hope and expectation. Yet such was the hatred they bare vnto his father, that not dying with his death, it liued still in his issue, and proued in short time the confusion of this Prince, who (setting aside his haughty disposition) which seemed to be inherent in him by Nature, he was otherwise a most absolute Prince, noble in mind, and of a kingly presence.

He hauing this by his fathers death obtained, but not established himselfe in the Empire, deuised the best meanes he could for the assurance of his estate, which by reason of his subiects minds (being Alians to him) and many also of the Nobility (which for his fathers sake also bare him no affection) stood very fickle: Amongst which, there was at that time one *Kneseuansusce* a noble man, and of great power, that in the Raigne of the great Tyrant, being great Maister

of the Horse, did also at this time beare many great Offices in the Empire, which the present King *Demetrius*, more for feare then loue, suffered him to enioy. And that state in a Prince must needes been vnassured, where the subiects power shall breed the Princes feare.

This *Vansusce* in the former Emperours raigne, did slily by his bounty and popularity wind himselfe into the loue and opinion of the people : and because that some fewe turbulent broyles and dangerous innouasions were by his power and policy pacified, he was held in great estimation of the Prince, and great veneration of the Nobility, among which neuerthelesse there were some that looking vppon his state, with an enuious eye, did also with considerate eyes looke into his actions, that springing from ambition more then from countries care, or honorable ends, they found his greatnesse to be dangerous, and those acts which caried the name and colour of the Emperours good, serued vnder hand to make way for his ambition, as hauing only a reference to himselfe and his owne designes, which *Demetrius* well perceiuing, did neuerthelesse dissemble, and coulourably made him faire countenance, as loth (in this greene world) to stirre the fire that lay hid in this embers.

This *Vansusce* was very noble in bloud, deriued from a long continued auncestry, honored

in many ages with many alliances of the Empire, alwayes held in great loue and estimation of the people, he was in his owne person of a Princely presence, full of affability & Court complement: yet neuerthelesse ambitious, cruell, a great dissembler, not letting to kisse whom he meant to kill, sparing no mans death, whose life withstood his purpose. He was heard once say to a secret friend of his, that that man was to be held vnworthy the stocke of all Noblenesse, that yeelded his honour to vassalage, whose fortunes might attaine to Soueraignty, whereby discovering his owne affections, he made himselfe transparant, thinking that if his words were brought in question, his power was able to defend them. This *Vansusces* greatnesse gaue principall matter for the Emperours distrust, knowing well that his ambition once ioyned with the peoples hate against him, whose natures are euer wont to follow Nobility, there might be raised a dangerous faction: for the preuention or meeting whereof, his friends councelled him to strengthen his vnassured estate by marriage in the alliance of some foreine Prince: for the furtherance whereof, there was a young Lady at that time of Princely birth and admirable beauty, as yet vncontracted in the Court of *Poland*. Thither with great preparations were Embassadors with great expedition sent, the principall of whom was a young Nobleman, and

kinsman to the Emperour, called *Tragus*, that bare chiefe place and honor, who being honorably entertained in *Poland*, found their dissignes happely succcede to their desires: for in short time this young Lady was with all solemnity affianced to this young Prince, a great ioynture granted, a rich dowry constituted, and the Embassadour richly rewarded, with all speed quickly returned into *Rushia*.

The Emperour embraceth the newes, and his kinsman for them kisseth the Ladies picture, confirms the Articles, exhausteth his treasure, holds himselfe poore in the riches of his hope, makes great preparations for his journey into *Poland*, still languishing in his desire to see the substance of that beauty, whose shaddowe onely had so incensed his fancy, that that seemed to be true in him which was written by *Plutarch*, vpon the languishments of *Marcus Anthonius*, to *Cleopatra* Queene of *Egypt*, that the soule of a Louer liues not in his owne, but in anothers bodie.

CHAP. 2

The Emperour *Demetrius* descends in person into *Poland*, with an honorable traine, and is there with all solemnity espoused to the Polish Princesse, returneth into *Russia*, bringing with him sixe thousand Poles for his guard.

ALL things being in sumptuous manner prepared, the Emperour *Demetrius* setteth forward

towards Poland, committing the government of his Empire in his absence to certaine of his Noblemen, whom he especially trusted, constituting his Kinsman *Tragus* for his Viceregent. The people flocke from all parts to see him, but neither with outward acclamations, nor inward desires of ioy, which neuerthelesse he little respected, supposing that this new alliance with *Poland* had so strengthened his estate, as he should not need to feare any intestine innouasion, and from forreine inuasions he was secured: howbeit, there were some that iudging of future contingents by the present times condition, foresaw that this mariage and disposings of it, might hereafter proue his confusion, as indeed it did: Howbeit we will not now mingle his present pleasures with vnreasonable feares of future troubles, but bring him in all honorable and delightfull manner out of his owne territories into the Kingdome of *Poland*, where in all places he found his entertainment to answer his estate, and to exceed his expectation.

After many honorable stayes and meetings, with many Princes and Nobles of *Poland*, he came at last to Court, the King lying then at *Cracow*, the chiefe City in *Craconia*, and the principall Seate of the Kingdome, here he found all the honors that his heart could desire, and sawe the rarest beauties that his eyes could behold: but that which most pleased him, was

the sight of her, whose beauty at first sight did so rauish him with astonishment, that his eyes and other parts with outward complements, were driuen to execute his tongues office, in discovering his inward thoughts; for he wanted words to expresse his Joye.

Here feasting the time, and his owne desires with banquets, imbracements, dances, and other amorous delights, at last, the long wished for day appeared, wherein the solemnity and authority of the Church, should consumate their hopefull longings with those happy imbrasings, and that true touch of ioy that languishing Louers feele in the heighth of pleasure, which then is at the full, when with simpaty of affection that sweete is mutually tasted betweene them with reciprocall desire, as it was betwixt these two Louers, in whom no compulsary consent did enforce mariage: neither was there any incompacible bloud betweene them to ouersway or dull affection: for they were both of equall yeeres, and both of them the most perfect and absolute frames of nature, that liued at that time in that part of the world. But at last, all things being finished with the time for this Princely mariage, they begin to prepare for their departure, a new desire therein stirring them both, him to reuiew his natieue Kingdome, and her to behold that land whereof she was now stiled Empresse.

The King and Queene of *Poland*, a great part of the Nobility, and the richest beauties of the Court accompany them to the frontiers of *Rushia*, the high-wayes, townes and villages being strewed with flowers, and sweet smelling herbes as if the ground had seemed too base to carry these Princely personages, the people flocking from all parts to see the blazing Comets of these two kingdomes, whose beauties attracted all mens eyes with wonder to behold them.

At last, the day of parting came, wherein these two yong Louers hauing taken their leaues, with seuerall tokens of ioy and sorrow, held on their way by their appointed Journals, first to *Smalensco*, the chiefe City in the Dukedome of *Seueare*, where the Emperours Kinsman *Tragus* in honorable manner met them, here staying a while to rest and solace themselues, within few dayes they departed, holding on their course, from thence to the great City of *Mosco*, where by the directions of the Prince *Tragus* they were with all State and Magnificence entertained.

Here they liued a while in all delights and pleasure. Who would haue thought that this Sunne thus shining but in his morning beauty, could so suddenly haue found an Eclipse in this Horizon, euen in the high-ways of his ascending glory. But O the incertainty of serrene pleasures, this light that brought so great a luster to so

great a Nation, was by the same people, whom it beheld with so faire an aspect, suddenly extinct by the malignancie of Fate and opposite Enuy, as you shall further heare. The Emperour *Demetrius* brought with him out of Poland six thousand Souldiers well appointed, to whom he gaue the guard of his person, distrusting the fidelity of his owne subiects, which the rather did incense the Muscouite against him, and in short time proued the cause of his bitter ouerthrowe.

CHAP. 3

The Emperours guard of Poles abuse his fauour, committing many outrages in the Citty, and in short time fall into great hatred with the Muscouite, Kneseuansusce laying hold of this occasion ioynes with the Muscouite, and growes discontent.

Now while the Emperour with his Lady delighted in nothing but what might please his fancy, spending whole dayes and nights in Banqueting and Reuels, thinking all safe and secure, the Poles being a people proud in their owne nature, and that pride nowe doubled in them by the Princes fauour, commit without controlement many outrages in the *Mosco*, and other places adioyning, so that by degrees (in short time they came to be extreamely hated of the Muscouite, which *Vansusce* perceiuing would oftentimes complaine so farre as he durst

to diuerse of his friends the Muscouites, both of the Indulgence of the Prince, and insolvency both of the Pole, alleaging probability of a Tyranny in the sonne, more insufferable then that of his fathers.

Who foresees not saith *Vansusce*, that perceiues any thing, how this new Alliance with *Poland* is like to proue fatall to *Rushia*, who sees not that these rude beginnings, are certaine signes foregoiing much greater mischiefes, if they be not in time preuented, we are scarce now secured of our wiues, children and goods, but that many times they passes the hazard of their barbarous cruelty, if six thousand Poles keepe vs thus in awe, committing such outrages (whereof there are daily complaints) without controulement, what will their greater numbers doe, whereof there is a continuall expectance : the Prince sleepe and dallies in the delights of his new loue forgetting his old friends, his owne people are disesteemed, the Pole hath all estimation, no Rushian sues at Court but (if he will thriue) must haue a Pole to his Aduocate, nothing that is by the Pole begged, but is by the Prince granted, without respect of common profit, the principall Offices begin already to be transposed both in Court and Citty, what shall we looke for but a declination still from bad to worse vntill we haue lost all, and the Pole hath got all.

These words together with their outrages had so incensed the Muscouite that there wanted but occasion to raise an innouation which vnluckely was soone after proffered, for a Polish Gentleman casting by chance his eye vpon a Marchants daughter of *Mosco*, a virgine of excellent bewty, was so intangled in her loue, that hauing tried all waies for the obtayning his desire by intreaties, and gifts, and finding stil his suite to returne in vaine, was neuerthelesse so ardent in his outrageous lust, that hauing trayned her by deuise into a place of conueniency, where in the pursuite of his desire all faire waies being denied him, he in a most barbarouse manner raiisht her. This deflowred damsell with great sorrow and heauinesse complained to her frinds of this vile abuse.

When the causes of our griefes exceede all bounds, it workes in our minds diuersity of effectes, not immoderatly those that follow our ordinary afflictions, or the customary crosses of fortune, which draw our sighes, teares, and other common tokens of calamity: but in the excesse of grief when the object thereof presents a view beyond al patience or sufferance, it so distracts the minde and astonisheth the senses that reason giuing way to sorrow we fall into a boundlesse Ocean of the extreamest passions: such was the inuolued heart with grieve in that spectacle of all misery *Hecuba* Queene of *Troy*,

who seeing herselfe betraid, *Ilium* set on fire, her Lord *Priame* slaine, her children murdered, and that flowre of al beauty *Polixena* (in the loue of whom that mirror of all knighted *Achilles* sight) slaine in her owne armes, by vnrelenting *Pirrhus* in the view of these miserable obiects she was so far from finding ease in the vtterance of sorrow, that shee lost herselfe in the Maze and Labrinth of madnesse: the like was that of *Niobe* vpon the slaughter of her seuen sonnes by the Goddessse *Latona*, who in the sight thereof was so astonished with sorrow, that the Poet fained her turned into a stone, not much vnlike was the state of the friends of this deflowred damsell, who hauing seene their daughters teares, and knowen the cause of hir griuance fell presently from the passion of sorrow to the passion of rage, and in a furious manner with resolued purposes but vnguided steps ran to Court, complaines of this abuse with frantike and vnseemly gesture, set forth the guilt of this abominable fact in the presence of the Emperour, and after a violent manner, rather commanding then crauing iustice, what haue we committed (saith the father to this wronged damsell) that we your natural people hauing beene so long brought vp vnder your Lawes, Religion, and Gouernment, should be so farre distrusted of our loyalties, and so much distasted in our affections that you should repose your selfe in a

strange guard, and expose vs to their cruelty, what outrages haue they committed since the comming of your Queene into *Mosco*, sparing neither age, sex nor quality, how many complaints haue beene made of their abuses, but no redresse; and I the sad father to this deflowred virgin perceiue by your lookes that I speake in vaine, the way to oppression is plaine and open, the path to Justice is vntrodden, the King is a stranger to his subiects and a King to strangers, the Muscouite held himselfe wretched vnder the gouernment of your father, but wee much more vnder your tyrannie, these last words did so incense the Prince, that with his foote he spurned the father of this damsell from him, and being by rage wholly transported from reason without any respect, either to the complainants cause, or the Muscouites discontent, committed him as a mutiner together with his wife and this wronged damsell to prison, who causing them there to be laden with Irons, did there by so ouerlade himselfe with the hatred of his people, that in short time it proued a burden too heauy for him to beare, ouerpressing him so much that it depriued him of his Empire, in the end of his life, as the sequell shall declare.

CHAP. 4

Vansusce with the aide of the Muscouite rebels, surpriseth the great Castle or Pallace of *Mosco*, kills all the Poles in one night, in this garboile the Emperour is bruted to be slaine, but with the aid of a trusty seruant escapes secretly with his Lady disguised.

THE newes being spread abroad the great Citty, of the vsage of this Marchant, his wrongs and vniust imprisonment, together with his wife, and daughter, the Muscouite in more open manner bewray their discontents on to another, and all against the Pole, so farre forth that they begin to mutiny, flocking together in great Companies with mindes of resolution to reuenge themselues for the wrongs receiued, which the Pole vnderstanding, keepe within the great Pallace, not daring to stirre abroad: The Prince looking (but too late) into the danger, imploie certaine Noble men of his Court, such whom he knew to be gracious with the people for the quieting of these tumults, by whose care and industry in short time they seemed to be pacified, not appeased, the Marchant, his wife, and daughter deliuered, not contented, a punishment vpon the offender imposed, not executed, a satisfaction promised, not performed, so that this fire was for a time smothered, not extinguished, which shortly after brake forth in such violent manner, that the flame thereof had well neere consumed the whole Empire.

The Prince being much perplexed in minde with these garboiles and continuall dangers of innouation, demands councel of his friends what were best to doe, rather for preuention of mischiefe then pacification of the people, the best counsell was giuen to appease; to apply himself to a gentle and debonaire behauiour towards his subiects, that obedience was better from loue than feare, to send back the Pole, into his Country, to betake the gard of his person to his owne people and to apply his gouernment to the nature of the Muscouite. But the worst, is followed which is to fore-stall to make his Guard stronger with the aide of the Poles to fortifie his Pallace and other places of command in the *Mosco*, to rule by force, not loue, and vtterly to disgrace and distrust the Muscouite, to this end, and for these purposes were there messengers secretly sent into *Poland* for ten thousand souldiers more to be entertained vnder his pay for the safeguard of his person.

When distrust once growes in a Princes minde and hatred once settled in the subiects hearts, they are hardly remoued, as was well found in this Prince and people, howbeit if at that time he had followed the best counsell to haue cas-siered the Pole and entertayned the Muscouite for his Guard, vndoubtedly hee might long haue rained a happy Prince ouer a happy people, and preuented infinite mischiefes that followed

euen to the vtter destruction of himselfe and great desolation in the Empire: And thus in the beginning ends the last act of his comike Sceane, and now begins the first act of his tragedy, and as the first was short and full of pleasure so this last was long and more full of misery, for his old aduersary *Kneseuansusce* vnderstanding of the close dispatch of the Emperours messengers into *Poland* for this new supply foreseeing that the Prince would then be to strong for him, except hee should openly raise his powers, and to put it to the hazard of a battell, the end whereof he wist was doubtfull, as well for the number of the Poles that were known to be much better souldiers then the Muscouite, as also for some few Noble men in Court both of land and power, whom he knew were fast vnto the Prince, and might soone raise there forces: held it his best for the pursuing of his dessignes to take the aduantage of the occasion present, & by a sudden surprise with the helpe of his friendes to make a new slaughter in the Pallace and places adioynning not only of the Poles but also of the Prince himselfe his chiefe friendes and followers. To this end and bloody purpose he sendeth secretly to his friends & such as he specially trusted in the Citty to be in a readinesse armed at an houre appointed, and as the Poet saith, *Tenebris audacia crescit*: the night was held

fittest for this deed of darknesse, & the Pallace itself was made the publike Theatre whereon was acted this horrible massacre, the night being come they flocke on all sides to the house of *Vansusce*, all waies being fore-laide to preuent intelligence of this bloody proiect, his friends and followers being thus assembled together to the number of ten, or twelve thousand, all armed for the purpose: *Vansusce* prepared for this bloody assault, telling them with words of much incouragement that now the long lookt for time was come, that should make the Muscouite famous to all posterity in the deliuey of thamselues from the cruell tyranny of the Poles, the experiment of whose proud natures and bloody dispositions they were so wel acquainted with in their owne particulars, and that now the houre was come, wherein they might reuenge at full the vilde abuses and intollerable wrongs of this vnsufferable strangers, and free the Citty and the land of so dangerous a Wiper, these words of *Vansusce*, together with the credit and opinion that was held of him that spake them, did so stirre vp the spirit of the Muscouite to the enterprise of this attempt, that most of them with an vniuersall consent of reuenge, the rest carried with hate and desire of spoile ran in disordered troupes from the house of *Vansusce* to the Pallace of the Emperour which was two miles asunder, Now was there

one Glasco a Secretary, and in speciall trust with the Emperour, howbeit a most vile traitor, for being priuy to all *Vansusces* proiects he was the only meanes for the entry into the Palace, this *Glasco* shall carry the stampe of infamy, and for euer leaue it to his name, and memory, who had he beene faithfull to his Lord and Master might haue discovered this horrible treason, preuented the infinite mischiefes that followed, preserued the life of his Prince, and purchast to himselfe immortal glory.

The entry was made with little resistance into the base Courts, where hauing once set foot, they cried out, liberty, liberty, liberty; kill, kill, kill; the Poles some naked, some weakly armed, according to the shortnesse of the time, passe with smal defence the cruelty of the enemies swords, & it fel out as *Vansusce* had expected, for others that knew not the matter hearing the Larum-bell rung in the Pallace, came from all parts, and vnderstanding that *Vansusce* was there in person, without inquiring further fell presently to execution, killing all they found, as well Muscouite as Pole, that bare office in the Court; now was there nothing heard in the Pallace but a horrible and confused noise of armour, Horses, and harqubuses; a pittifull crie of all sorts of people, of all ages, and conditions going vnto death, and the pitillesse shoutes of murtherers, the Pallace

died ouer with bloud, to the which (though hauing made choice of darknes) they neuerthelesse set fire to giue them light for the execution of this massacre, two houres murder and rapine make this one night famous in the infamy of the executioners, to whom also afterwards it proued so fatall, as all of them were enforced to confesse that mans bloud spilt violently, when as the manner thereof, cannot lawfully challenge, the quallification of iustice is odious in his sight; who hauing created man according to his owne image, sels his bloud deerely to the authors of such effusion, neuerthelesse this was but the exordium, or entrance, or first, or least part of this Tragicke Sceane, for when their way was made into the inward Courts by fire and sword, they spared none of any degree or calling, euery object they saw in the Court was a subiect to their fury.

The Emperour and his Lady being in the heart of the Pallace imbracing one another, in great dolour and heauinesse determine yet nobly to die together, whilst a trusty seruant of the Emperors found a way and meanes for their escape, the Prince in the habit of a slaue, the Lady in mans apparel, thus in great sorrow and feare these two younge louers in this disguise tooke hand in hand, and with their faithfull guide by his direction past through by-waies out of the Pallace, then burning about their

earess : he deseruing for his care and duty to his Prince, no lesse fame and memory then that patterne of all piety *Aeneas* did carrying vpon his shoulders his old father *Anchises*, euen through the flames of *Troy*.

CHAP. 5

Demetrius with his Empresse flies to the Dukedome of *Collooge*, and findes entertainment, *Vansusce* bruits him dead, and causeth one like him to be carried thorow the Citty murdered, the Muscouite beleeueth it.

THUS these two young Princes sprung from the lines of Kings, in the chiefe pride of their flowring youth, and beauty, in the height of all their state and dignity, in the midst of all their pleasures and delights, from the happy society of their friendes and great Allies, are now by the vilde treachery of *Vansusce*, their sworne subiect, and forsworne vassaile, brought from their Imperiall greatnesse to so wretched and miserable a state, as not the meanest in the Empire would now willingly change fortunes and conditions with them.

But to returne to their tragicke story : They hauing by the aide of their trusty guid past the feares and dangers of the Pallace, tooke the Riuer of *Volga*, in a little boate, the Prince himselfe helping his trusty seruant to row downe the streame, O what a piteous sight it

was to behold a Prince that but the day before held a Septer of so rich royall and spacious a kingdome serued in all state and maiesty, attended on with Nobles, and infinite numbers of men, to be now tugging at a simple Oare, and labouring for his life to preserue her, whom aboue his life, and all the world hee preferred, and of all that he inioyed but three houres before, to haue only this remnant left that he might call his owne, his desolate Queene, his faithfull seruant, and two silly Oares, and a little Boate.

But holding on our course, we must publish to the world those dolorous occurents, and heauy calamities that followed, to fill up this sad Sceane of sorrow with matter more tragicall then that of *Seneca*, in the wretchednesse of *Locasta*, or that of *Homer* in the miseries of *Hecuba*: thus this poore rich remaine of *Rushia*, these two pretious jewels pluckt rudly from their golden frame, these two great personages, in this little Boate, easing themselues in this heauy burden of care by the naturall participation of sorrow, and comforting themselues in the sight each of other, hold on their course towards the Duke-dome of *Colloga*, some fourscore verse, as the Rushe calls it, from the great City of *Mosco*, which is about threescore miles English, a place for the naturall seituation so defensible, by reason of Riuers, Rockes, and Castles, that with

an Army it is well neare vnaccessible, *Demetrius* hauing heere safely set his foote, the whole Dukedome did generally entertaine him, some also of the Nobility, and many of his old seruants that had past the dangers of the Pallace, and the tyranny of *Vansusce* fled vnto him, in whose sight hee comforted himselfe with this, that he was not vtterly forsaken, thanking almighty God vpon his knees, that his state thorough this treason was not reduced to so low an ebbe but that hee might yet liue, to out-liue this misery, and sith hee was in this short time raised from the attendance of one seruant and a little Boate, to the possession of many seruants and a whole Dukedome, he might also afterward, by the revolution of time, and fortune, recouer and repossesse his whole Empire, checking his present feares with the hope of future contingents, striuing thus to make a body of a limbe, and to beguile the actuall condition of his fortunes with imaginary conceits of better :

But we will now leaue this crosse starrrd Prince in the sorry comfort of his wan hopes, building new Castles in the aire, while his fatall enemy *Vansusce* possesseth his old Castles in the Empire, and letting him rest a while after the vnrest of that dismall night, we will now returne where we left *Vansusce* burning, or spoyling that great Castle and Palace of *Mosco*, the royall Seate of many Emperours in many precedent ages, which

has bene a building many yeares, and was thus miserably in one night destroyed, or so much defaced, that to this day it is not re-editted : now must we bring vpon the stage Usurpation attainders, forfeitures and confiscation of Lands and Goods, plots, and stratagems to supplant, polices, and deuices to establish a Crowne vniustly gotten, vpon an Usurpers head, that is neuer at rest, or seldome sleepes in quiet.

Vansusce notwithstanding that euery thing succeeded according to his desire : but that which was the maine of his proiect, the slaughter of the Prince *Demetrius*, whose escape none but his trusty friends knew of, proceeds in his purposes to make himself Emperour, albeit he knew that he had no title thereunto, nor colour like to any.

The mind of man is infinite in opinion and weening, which being once set vpon ambition, nothing can stay or limit her aduentures, as appeared in *Vansusce*, in whose way lay two great stumbling blockes, the first was the escape of the Prince, the other was the life and greatness of his Kinsman *Tragus*, who was also great in the peoples opinion, him must *Vansusce* needes remoue, or he finds a greater enemy exposd then *Demetrius* that was expeld, this must be done secretly, and vpon the sudden, and there was no time slackt, for three howers before the appearing of the day that followed

this fatall night, a brother of *Vansusces*, whose name was also *Demetrius*, was sent to surprise him with five hundred horse, he lying then at a house of pleasure in the country, some fifteene miles from the Citty, and to bring him prisoner to the Mosco, where by forme of tryall he was to passe such censure as was preiudicated for him in those false crimes and imputations already set downe to be suggested and inforced against him; for he durst not by reason of the peoples fauour proceed against his life, but by processe of Law, and because he knew also that it would be a hard matter to surprize him in his house, he causeth a letter of Credence to be counterfeit in the Emperours name, the tenor whereof was onely this, That there was some matter of import that craued his present aide at Court, and that he should set all other businesse aside, and make what speed he could thither, the truth of this letter was committed to that vilde traytor *Glasco*, as being found the fittest for this negotiation: howbeit there will come a time wherein he that is now an Agent, shall proue also a Patient in this bloudy tragedie, when that treasonable blood that now floweth in his veines, shall be let out euen by the hand of him whom he now obeyes, but we will leaue him now, and *Vansusces* brother *Demetrius*, to their poasting iourney, and returne to the Castle at *Mosco*, where *Vansusce* hauing beheld many

dead Carkases, found one that in yeares, fauour, and other lineaments of his body, was very like the Emperors.

Vansusce lays hold vpon this occasion, and hauing princely apparrelled this dead counterfeit, caused it to be publisht, that the Emperour *Demetrius* was slaine : for manifestation where, he causeth this counterfeit to be laid vpon a Beere, and with great State to be carried bare-faced thorow the great Citty, to their State-house, or common hall, he accompanying the body in person, the people flocking from all parts to see him, beleeuing stedfastly that it was he, but no man bestowing a sigh or funerall teare vpon him, such is the nature of the vulgar.

CHAP. 6

The counterfet body is buried for the Emperor *Demetrius*, with the state and solemnity of a Prince. *Tragus* is suddenly surprised and brought prisoner to the *Mosco*.

VANSUSCE being come into the publike Hall, coulorably attired in blacke, being in himselfe of a Princely personage and presence, maiestically ascended vp into a high Throne that was suddenly erected for him, the supposed body of the Prince being laied before the people, where after silence proclaimed, he spake after this manner vnto them, with a sad settled countenance and an audible voice. I cannot tell with what

passions or affections of griefe and sorrow, my deare Country-men, this dead Prince whom we lately called our soueraigne Lord and Emperour, lies buried in your hearts, but vnto me it is the saddest sight, and the most wofull object that euer my vnhappy eyes beheld, of whose blood, as the immortall God can witnesse of my cleere heart and innocence, so I protest by the maiesty of him before whom I stand, that with your allowance and content, I would punish with torture, to all example, this worse than Parricide, were it in the person of mine owne brother, though done in ignorance, as in such vnhappy garboiles many such chances happen: If probable witnesse could be produced against him, for it is not fit the earth should beare the murderer of his Prince, but because that matters vncertaine cannot be certainly disposed, we must leaue him to his iudgement that knowes as well the intensions as actions of man, it onely resteth that we performe our last duties to the dead, his funerall Rites and Obsequies, which I desire may be with all solemnity accomplished, in whose sudden and vntimely death, because we haue lost a hope of a continued line for succession in the Empire, and that by the slaughter of the Poles we haue drawn a great and dangerous enemy, it behooues you to make choise of such a one to gouerne, whose wisdom and valour may be able to maintaine the State

and Maiesty of the Empire, and also meete with those opposite occurrents that doth maligne it, but first of all, and chieftest of all, it behooues you to cut of all occasions of ciuill and intestine war, for preuention whereof we haue this morning sent for the Princes kinsman *Tragus*, as well to answer to such supputations of crime as shall be obiected against him, as also in this dangerous time to be disposed of by your wisdomes, nought else at this time our dolorous tongue can discourse of but the Princes funerals, which we wil hasten to solemnise: and with that word he wipt his eyes, the people were so farre from any tokens of sorrow, that they fell presently to acclamations of ioy, clapping their hands and throwing vp their hats, crying *Vansusce, Vansusce*, God saue *Vansusce*.

It is a thing worth the obseruation to note and marke what diuersity of shapes hypocrisie puts on, *Haec simulata sanctitas haec dissimulata iniquitas*, how many miles distant are the words and thoughts of a dissembler, how many vn-knowne Regions betwixt his tongue and heart, but admit they lie close for a while they will be discouered when his iustice shall be turned outward, and though his treasons haue for a time vnderued and vnsuspected passage, as carrying an outward glosse faire and remarkable, yet the day will come when hee shall render an account of his vniust Stewardship, and surrender

vp and restore backe all those false titles and honours which murder, periury, and horrible treason helps him to put on, when by being truly pulled downe from the height of his false greatnesse he shall be aduanced as a marke of terrour to all traitours and treasons, in the meane time, and at all times his name and memory shall be held odious and infamous to God and all good men, to whom humane society and vertue is had in veneration.

Not long after the liuing Princes obsequies were with all state and honour solemnized in the person of another, who though he were of base birth, and obscure parentage, and perhaps did neuer any act memorable in his life, was neuerthelesse in his death honoured with a Princes funerall, and buried in a Sepulchre of Emperours.

But we must now returne where we left with Vansusces brother, *Demetrius* and the traitour *Glasco*, who many daies before this counterfet obsequies had betraied and surprised the young Prince *Tragus*, which in this manner was effected : early in the morning a little before the breaking of the day, they came within sight of the Castle, where hauing found within a mile thereof a fit place by reason of certaine copses of wood, and other shrubbish, to plant an Ambuscado, *Demetrius* tooke the aduentage thereof, lying there close with his men to intrap the Prince vpon

the way whilst this *Achitophel*, this *Iudas*, that had before betraied his Lord, in a most abominable manner goes now also to betray his kinsman, to whom before hee had beene much obliged, but no benefite receiued, or pleasure done can stay a treacherous heart bent to mischief, for that it is altogether transferred vnto the end it aimes at, and neither respects the way it takes, nor the course it holds, though neuer so foule or indirect, he comes like slie *Ulysses*, that stole Paladium out of *Troy*, with a faire face, but a foule minde, a smooth countenance, but a rotten heart; knockes at the Castle gate, and is let in, he vnderstands that the Prince is asleepe, who God knowes little drempt of the fatall night his kinsman the Emperour endured, nor of this vnhappy day wherein hee himselfe is to be betraied. Now because that *Glasco* had told the seruants of the house that his busines was of such import, that he had it in charge giuen not to forbeare his rest, they waked the Prince before his houre, who vnderstanding of *Glascos* comming was very glad, and sent for him into his bed-chamber, so cleere and true a minde hath innocence vpon the Anuile when treason and mischief is in the Forge.

But this vilde traitour *Glasco* being entered the Chamber, he in very humble manner salutes the Prince, and deliuers many suggested complements, together with these counterfeit letters

from the Emperour, the Prince with a cheerefull and vnsuspected countenance, giues him his hand, bids him welcome, demands of the Prince his health, and the newes at Court, all is deliuered in faire manner and coloured ouer with dissembled words, the Prince beleeueth all, and distrusteth nothing, receiues and reads the letter without suspition, making himselfe ready for his iourney to Mosco :

Thus whilst the tongue and the heart of truth are in one line paralel, the heart and tongue of treason are as farre sundered as the Poales; such distance there is from their artike words to the antartike purposes : the Prince is soone ready, kisseth his faire Lady, making more hast then good speed to goe on with this traitour to the *Mosco* : from whence he is neuer to returne, nor euer to behold his wife againe; shee weepes at parting, as bedewing his hidden fate with her open teares, whether of present loue, or fore signifying sorrow, they mount on horse-backe, and with halfe a doozin of the Princes followers they post towards the *Mosco*, till they came within the compasse of the Ambuscado, that all this while laie as still as midnight, the larum being giuen on the sudden, they surprise him and detaine him prisoner, there could be no resistance, the Prince seeing himselfe thus vildly betraied, and by him also whom he especially trusted, bouldly desired to know the cause, and

whether it was the Emperours pleasure that he should be thus held in captiuity, they answered him churlishly, that he should know the rest at his comming to *Mosco*, and when he began in goodly tearmes, as he was an excellent wel spoken man, to bewray his innocense, they staid not the end of his speech, but rudely put him forward, at which the Prince sighed, but it bootet not.

All this was done within view of the Princes house, and in the Ladies sight : Now iudge all you honourable dames, that loue your Lords and husbands with intire affections, with what heart the sad eyes of this desolate Lady could behoulde this miserable obiect, to see her husband thus betraied within her view; such was the sorrow of that euer memorable Roman Lady *Cornelia*, wife to *Pompey* the great, when from a farre off shee saw her Lord and husband in a little Boate betrayed and slaine, by the treacherous Councillors and bloudy ministers of that periured Prince *Ptolomie* King of *Egypt*, when after his ouerthrow in *Thessalie* hee put himselfe vpon his protection.

And this poore Ladies sorrowes were the greater because shee neither knew the cause, their purposes, nor the meanes to helpe him, but wee must leaue her in her passions and follow him in his captiuity, whom they soone brought in a poasting iourney to *Mosco*, and lodged him in a strong prison.

CHAP. 7

Tragus is arraigned, condemned, and iudged vniustly in the *Mosco*, who out of the greatnesse of his mind, to mocke *Vansusces* tyranny kills himselfe.

Now were their daily counsels and consultations held in the Citty, concerning the progresse of this businesse with this Noble-man, by *Vansusce* and those of his secrets: who soone grew to be powerfull by reason of his strong Guards and plurality of friends, that from all parts flocked vnto him. The day was soone appointed for this young Lords tryall, not from his knowen innocence to cleere him, but from their preiudicated doombes to confound him; the publike place of iudgement was appointed, the Theatre vpon which must be acted this Gentlemans tragedy, thither at the day set downe comes *Vansusce* in a Princes Roabe, together with his friends, allies, and a strong guard of souldiers, the principal Officers in the Citty accompanying him, and hauing all taken their places, this Princly prisoner is brought in before them who with a cheerefull and vnaffrighted countenance beholds them all. The allegations of treason obiected against him were, that by his procurement the last warre with the Tartars was commenced that cost more treasure and bloud then the victory was worth, that by his sollicitation that vnhappy marriage with the

Polish Princes was mediated and concluded, that the Polish Guard was by his meanes brought in by which so many outrages were committed that they were driuen to take the course they did for their daughter, in which the Emperour himselfe past an vnhappy destiny, the guilt of whose death was laid vpon him as being the originall, though not the efficient cause thereof, that the bringing in of ten thousand Poles more was by his counsell vrged, that the Princes treasure was by his prodical profuse of mony much wasted, that he had allowed the title of the Dukedome of Seuerie, to the Crowne and Kingdome of *Poland*, with other matters not so much as thought vpon, to all which, the Prince answered so fully and so nobly as euery vnpartiall eare found his innocence; howbeit truth neuer told her tale but enuy was either ready to wrong her by suggestion, or falshood by subornation, for vniust witnesses were produced against him, by whose testimony this innocent Prince was condemned.

Vansusce then rising from his Throne, began with a studied and premeditated speech after this manner, I cannot tell my louing Countrymen in what tearmes, or with what words I shall proceed in iudgement against this Noble-man, late kinsman and neere Alley vnto our deare Soueraigne Lord the Emperour, for when I thinke of the times past and compare them with

the present, the thought and consideration thereof so strike me with astonishment, my minde being diuersly distracted betwixt my Countries care and this Noble-mans respect, that I stand diuided in my iudgment, the one pleading rigor, the other pittie, what I shall definately set downe in censure for him or against him; first giue him his due, who doth not sorrow that so noble a Gentleman, so fully stufte with such excellent parts of mind, of so admirable composure, and constitution of body in the prime of his youth, and beauty in the pride of his state and pleasures, in the solace and comfort of his wife and children, his ouer-heedlesse actions, and ouerweening conceit, his owne greatnesse, in abusing the Princes fauour, should now make him vnworthy of his life, by reason of the states present condition: whereas otherwise his life should haue beene most desired. For mine owne part, I would I had not liued at all, or at least, not till this time, wherein sauing my countries care, and the entire respect and affection I beare to all your liues and safeties, I am otherwise euen against the consent of my soule, and my best genious, enforst to pronounce peremptory sentence of iudgement against such a man, to whom but of late I gaue place to in honour.

For thus say my priuate thoughts to my common cares, where Nobility, greatnesse, a Princes fauour, or what excellent parts or quali-

ties soeuer, either of body or mind, be in the same subiect that ewes them transferred vnto it selfe without respect of common good, to the which he owes a duty, he growes not onely an vnprofitable, but also a dangerous member to that Common-wealth, and where from such a mind there be acts committed, though but criminall, and feares depending of greater consequence in this case, it is more then a politicke or nationall Lawe, it is Religious Justice, and the service of our God, to take away the life of such greatnesse, and make it the peoples sacrifice: and therefore with your consents, since things cannot otherwise stand, or be established, I giue him ouer to the vigour of the Law, and the ministers thereof.

All this while this captiue Prince although he saw how closely and indirectly euery thing was carried, and had heard during the time of his imprisonment, the supposed death of the Emperour, the murther of the Poles, and many of great place and office in the Palace, actions so bloudy and so fatall that albeit he knew the world to be full of mischief, and the pathes thereof troden with vnsanctified feet, yet he thought there wanted that venemous matter in the minde of man to beget, breed, and bring forth such hideous and horred murders, he doth yet neuerthelesse, neither in the conceit of these inhumane massacres past, nor in the indurance

of his owne vnauoidable miseries present shew tokens of any feare or affrightment, but with the same countenance he held before in his prosperous estate, he now beheld the tiranous authors, and bloody actors of his tragedy, so nobly had the inward vertues of his minde framed and composed the outward actions and gestures of his body : And thus with words as bould, and as vndanted as his lookes, he spake in this manner vnto them.

I haue strained withall my best within me, to heare and beare patiently all your vnkind handlings, vnjust presumptions, furious Inforcements; your malicious and manifold appliments, foule wrestings, and impossible constructions, and all to make me seeme to be a member dangerous to the state, to take away my life as a common enemy, which onely must be remoued to make smooth the way to your presentends and intendments, for his cause was the true noble bloud of my royall Lord and kinsman shed, to make you grow vp in this false greatness, I speake to the *Vansusce*, whose inward soule knowes my innocence in all my accusations, and that all this shew of Law is but a form, a meere ingine, or deuice to set a glosse vpon your horred murders past; and to take away my life by a pretext of iustice, which you persue in mallice, haue I showne my selfe dangerous to my Country, when in the last wars with the

Tartars I so little regarded mine owne life, that I spent most of her bloud in that action, and returned victorious against the eie and opinion of all that saw and knew the danger of that day; did I wrong my Country when with your consents and allowances I made that honourable contract with the Polish Princes; was that the Treasure I exhausted in that expedition: when mine owne priuate Coffers are yet empty with that charge.

For the Polish guard, it was rather my enforced consent, then my voluntary counsell, or approuement, for the title of the Dukedome, with the rest of the Articles, which I scorne to repeate, the great God of my hope knowes me to be as free either in action, or intention, as he knowes the Vansusce to be guilty of these horrid treasons; I doe not plead mine innocence to saue my life, for that is foredoomed by an vnchanged decree, but only to ease my heart of an ouerburdening wait of grieve which your base wrongs, and false wouen iniuries haue contracted there, (and it, is one comfort yet that I am suffered to speake,) I doe not raile either against they tyranny, or the maleuolence of my starres, there is no man greater then his destiny, neither haue I set the gard of vertue so weakly within me, against the spight of Fortune, or your malice, but that my spirit and resolution can suffer, either in thy inhumaine cruelty *Vansusce*, or thy vnnatural

treachery vild *Glasco*, or all your hates you vnkind Muscouites, or what else is precious vnto me, as the losse of wife and children, depriuatiou of lands and honours, or torment, or death, or whatsoeuer can happen in humanity : All these or what else is in the power of enuy, hate, malice, or tiranouse oppression is beneath me.

Life is not my Paramour, I stand not inamoured of her pleasures, the world hath to me adulterated his faire protestations of loue and respect, with the foule prostetucions of the times mischiefe, I haue seene an end of my fortunes, and haue set an end to all my desires, all the ambition that is left in mee is the hopefull enioyment of a far more glorious kingdome, thither doth my soule aspire, and thither shall my spirit mount before your time prefixt, if there be any therefore in this assembly that either is at this time, or shall happen hereafter to come into the like danger, and would know how to mocke *Vansusces* tyranny, let him learne it thus by my example :

And with that word hauing closly drawne a short dagger hid of purpose for this houre, he stabbed himselfe to the heart, an act though in it selfe seeming desperate and full of horror, yet in circumstance and considerate respects truly noble and ful of honour that would not suffer his opposite and mortall enemeies to triumph

ouer his vertues and the freedome of his spirit in his end.

The sudden and voluntary death of this Noble man put them all into amasement, and some there were present and those not of the meaner sort, did for the time so inwardly sorrow for the hard disaster of the Prince his innocence and iniuries that they made outward manifestation thereof by there teares, which *Vansusce* perceiuing, and in their generall silence a generall sadnesse, that from thence his Plots and Proiects, might be more narrowly looked into with considerate eies, began to looke about and to gather his wits together to draw this inward creeping suspition from the heart of the Muscouite, vpon whose loue and opinion did principally depend the hope and meanes of his proceedings, hee therefore spake againe vnto them so fully for the times condition, so colourable against the guilty life, and rash death of the Prince, and so carefully for the security of the state, together with all their safties, that hee soone turned the gentle currant of their passionate sorrowes into the vast Ocean of their wonted rage, crying out against the house of Demetrius his name and family, and in this new humour, like the flattering Jewes to *Herod* after his Orasion to the people, they falsely guild his words with an Angels eloquence, crying out after their wonted manner, *Vansusce*, God saue *Vansusce*, such a turning Phane is the

peoples breath, with these much looked for acclamations the Court was presently dissolved, the dead body of the Prince carried backe to Prison, from whence the next day, it was brought forth againe and poorely buried, making the world to stand at amasement, that the earth which neuer failes of meanes in abundance for a Princes life should now faile in necessaries for his interre-ment.

CHAP. 8

The wife of *Tragus* dies for sorrow, his two children are detayned prisoners, *Vansusce* is crowned Emperour of *Rushia*, *Demetrius*, with the Empresse flees into *Poland* from whence with a great Army he returnes backe into *Rushia*; the warre begins.

AFTER this tall Leader of the Rushian state was, from the mountaine of his greatnesse, thus pulled downe : many lower trees and shrubbes past the like fortune, for whatsoever stode in *Vansusces* way must be remoued, till it was made smooth from any oblique let for his transcending glory, euen to the maiestike state of the Rushian Empire, treacherous *Glasco* being the principall agent, and speciall instrument for his designes, and Intendments.

But before we set the Crowne on this vsurpers head, whilst the preparations be now in framing for his Coronation, wee shall looke a little backe

into the wretched state, and miserable condition of this vntimely Widdowed Lady, wife to the late noble Prince *Tragus*, and his two sonnes, both so young that they were not capable of their calamity : To write of this Ladies teares, and hir profound sorrowes, were but like a Painter to counterfeit by art the teares of *Lucesse*, for her enforst wrong done to *Collatyne*, or the true bred woes of Porcia for her deere Lord *Brutus*, to shew outwardly the presentation of such tragike spectacles, and so to feede the phantasie with imaginary grieffe, in which neuerthelesse their is neither life, nor sense of reall sorrow.

To leaue therefore these teares with her that was the true owner of them, who presently also leauing the world and the pleasures thereof enclosed hirsselfe in a religious house, where with long fasting, and deepe melancholy, spending her daies alone in the exercise of sorrow, in short time she ended her life, leauing behind her a notable example of loue and constancy : his two sonnes are yet liuing, but detained as prisoners by Vansusce, howbeit happily reserued to better fortunes.

Now is *Vansusce* arriued at that Hauen he a long time did bend his course vnto, euen through a Sea of bloud, where neuerthelesse he shall not finde that safty that he expects, for dangerous is the State that is obtained by bloud and treason, as the sequell shall declar, the Emperiall Crowne

of *Rushia* being now set vpon his head, there fell mischiefes thicke, and as the thing euill gotten is seldome, or neuer well kept, thorow all the time of his vsurped raigne, there neuer ceased bloody war and slaughter, no not in his owne destruction and captiuity for he had scarce time to finish the state and solemnity of his Coronation, before he heard newes of the great preparations in *Poland*, both to reuenge the reasonable wrongs done to the Emperour, and also the murder of the Poles, or rather which is most like, *Sigismond* the King of *Poland* making these but colourable pretenses for higher dessignes of another nature, both to recouer the Dukedome of *Seueare*, to the which hee challenged a title, and further, as the successe should follow to inuade the whole Empire of *Rushia*, and to keepe it for himselfe, to make another entry that way into the Kingdome of *Swethland*, such a passage had this ciuill discention made, euen for the ouerthrow of the whole state; but wee must now returne to the lawfull Emperour *Demetrius*, who being by the happy fortune of his birth a Prince, was now by the malignant power of his fate a fugitiue, for hauing about some few of his friends that followed him in all fortunes, hee gaue them in charge to looke carefully to the keeping of that Dukedome, it being still a receptacle for them in the worst of danger while he with his vnhappy Lady in great danger and strange

disguise together with his trusty seruant past from *Colloge*, and after a long and weary iourney at last tooke the Riuer of *Ipre*, and with safty recouered the Territories of the Polish Kingdome.

Sigismond hauing notice of their comming, sendeth his safe conduct, together with directions for their entertainment, but not in the state and sumptuous manner as before, for in a change of fortune we finde a change of friendship and account, being neuerthelesse come to Court, they were honorably welcomed, and comforted after their many endured miseries, where they rested themselues awhile till the preparations for *Rushia* were made ready, it being an Army of fourty thousand souldiers. With this new raised power, *Demetrius* raiseth new hopes, both to recouer and to reuenge, which fell not out according to his desire, man purposeth but God disposeth.

Now *Vansusce* hearing of this great preparation in Poland, fortifies the Citty of *Mosco*, and other places of import, gathering souldiers from all parts to strengthen his faction, bearing the Muscouite in hand that it was the policy of the Polish King to haue entertained some stragling runnagate to take vpon him the name and state of *Demetrius*, only to countenance this inuasion; staying by this suggestions the vncertaine minde of the Muscouite, that otherwise he knew would be diuersly carried.

But *Demetrius* being now in all things furnished for the transposing of this great Army into *Rushia*, takes his leaue of the King and Queene and other of his friends in Poland, but aboue all, of his deare beloued Empresse, whom his vnhappy eies shall neuer behold againe; to shew her sorrow in his departure, were to stay vs in the pursuite of this great war that must be prosecuted with all speed and cruelty, *Demetrius* therefore with many long marches, at last had past the frontires of the Polish Kingdom, he no sooner had set footing vpon the Territories of his owne Empire but the miseries of the war began, and that Country that before flourished with along countinued peace, and was growne exceeding rich both in their owne abundance, and a prosperous commerce with others, began now to be spoiled and harried of hir plenty; fire and sword being the executiones: the Pole spoiled and killed in all places in reuenge of the Massacre done in the *Mosco*, sparing neither sort, nor sex, in any state or age, whom they met withall, neuerthelesse the most of them had before fled into Citties, Castles, Woods and other defensible places.

Thus mischiefe hauing set footing in *Rushia*, it did in a short time take such rooting, that in a long time after shee was not supplanted, *Demetrius* either giuing consent thereto, or else wanting power in himselfe to curbe her, howbeit

he made as much speede as he could to *Mosco*, either to make the spoile of his Country lesse by his hasty marches, or otherwise burning in desire to be reuenged on that place where he had receiued such wrong and outrage.

Being at last come to *Mosco*, he beleaguers the Citty, but findes an vnexpected resistance, it being so strengthened with men and munition that it was wel-neere vnpregnable, all pla[ces] of strength and import about the Citty were in short time subdued and giuen to the Pole, who executes all manner of cruelty : *Demetrius* laies wait in all places to cut off all succour that should be brought into the Citty, so that the Muscouite in short time endured great want and misery. To wright all the particulars of this siege, that continued for the space of two yeers, would aske a whole volume by it selfe : I will onely touch the most speciall occurants, according to my best intelligence that happened in that time.

Vansusce vnderstanding the miseries that the Country people indured by the cruelty of the Poles, and fearing all great miseries in the Citty, if the siege endured, sent speedily and secretly his Cursitours to *Charles* King of *Sweathland*, whom hee knew to be mortall enemy to *Sigismond* King of *Poland*, demanding vpon certaine condicions his aid to remoue the Leagure. King *Charles* hauing at that time an Army of French, English, and Scottish, in pay for any occasion

offered from *Sigismond*, but vnderstanding at that time all his preparations were disposed of in *Rushia*, and knowing also that if the Pole set footing their hee should find him more dangerous there then in his owne Country, yeelds easily to *Vansusces* demand, imploying the forces of those strangers which he had strengthened with many companies of Swethens, to the full number of twelue thousand vnder the conduct and generall command of one *Pontus de la Guard*, a French Captaine, a man of more fame then worth among them.

CHAP. 9

Sr. *Robert Sherly* comes as Embassadour from the Persian to *Demetrius* in the Leager, the Muscouite mutiny, but are appeased, *Glasco* is suspected, convicted, arraigned, and executed in the *Mosco*.

KNESEVANSUSCE albeit he bare no great affection to King *Charles*, and was loth also that so many strangers should bee brought into *Rushia*, to harry and spoyle the Country, yet knowing the difference that was betwixt him and *Sigismond* King of *Poland*, he held it his best to make vse thereof, to serue his owne turne in their dissention, and by any meanes rather to remooue the pole, then vpon the best conditions to yeelde vnto their habitation there, making choice rather of a sufferable than an intollerable stranger. Now while these forces were thus a raising in

Swethland for these designs in *Russia*, *Demetrius* with his Army lying still before the City of *Mosco*, that braue Spirit of *England*, Sir *Robert Sherley*, came as Embassador to *Demetrius* from the *Sophie* of *Persia*, demanding his aide in the generall hostility to be made by christian princes against the common enemy the *Turke*, where hee found that entertainment that those tumultuous times in warrelike leager could afford, but for the matter of his Embassie, the present troubles cut off the meanes of any present aid, so that after his stay there some few daies, hauing received many honourable giftes and presents hee departed, onely furnished with hopes and faire promises, howbeit his comming thither put the *Muscouite* into more then a presumption, that it was the true *Demetrius* that beleagerd their Citty, and that the report of his death was but a fained matter, insomuch that in most places, especially in *Mosco*, they beganne to murmure, whispering one to an other, that God had forsaken the guidance of them and their Citty, and had giuen them ouer into the hands of strangers and others for their disloyalty, they saide betweene themselues, that it could not be that the King of *Poland*, other Princes, and many noble men of *Russia* in the leager could be so long deceiued with a counterfet Emperour, but either his countenance behauiour, speech or som ones report or other would betray him.

They compared the times present with the times past and found that the Errours and Indiscretions of a yong Prince, being their naturall Lord, were more easie to endure than the milder gouernement of an Usurper, for that the abuse and instabilitie of his estate had drawne infinite daungers and miseries by a contrary faction, which they now endured in no meane degree, and were like heereafter to suffer in the greatest extreames: these murmurings and priuie whisperings being brought to *Vansusces* eare, he beganne to looke about, and to preuent all occasions that might be offered for the raising of a faction within the Citty, hee therefore sought to pacifie the Muscouites in the best manner he could, and withall sent colourably (vnder safe conduct) certaine Gentlemen his friends to the Emperour in the Leager, that if he were the right *Demetrius* his true and lawfull Prince, he should shew it in a naturall loue and care vnto his Countrey, and not suffer him to be thus defiled with the bloud of his people, by the Poles crueltie and for his owne part, if he found that it were so, he would not onely surrender vp vnto him, the Title and gouernement that he now held, together with the Citty and other places in his command, but also in all submission acknowledge and serue him in all faithfulnessse and duety as his naturall liege Lord.

He further instructed them to excuse him in

the plottes and course that hee had taken, and to blame but respectiuey his sufferance in the abuses of the Poles, that had drawne on the hatred and indignation of the Muscouite, so farre as being gathered to a head, and breaking forth into action, it prooued as a raging Torrent or violent Inundation that no wayes could be stopped: Hee willed them further to descend into particularities, and to touch the seuerall factions on his part, that it stooke him vpon to take the aduantage of his friends offers, and the opportunity of euery reuolt, to the end that the head of all, which was himselfe, might be the surer garded, and this (hee said) hee learned of Nature and Necessitie, that teacheth euery creature to defend herselfe, and that albeit he could a long time endure the siege, and that hee knew also the Forces were ready in *Swethland* to attempt the Leager, he would yet neuertheless giue ouer these new hopes and designes for warre, and with all his best, endeuour to conclude a peace, protesting with this conclusion, that if by his maiesties fauor hee might enioy those lands, honors, and offices, to the which partly he was borne, partly he enioyed by the deceased Emperours gift, and his owne admission, no Prince in the world should finde a more loyall subiect or more faithfull Gentleman than himselfe.

Demetrius albeit he suspected a Padde in this

straw, did neuerthelesse either simply or colourably put them in hope of a *Parlée*, and for a time held a cessation, discharging the Messengers with faire words and countenance, who at their returne into the Citty, gaue out that this was not the true *Demetrius*, but a counterfet by *Vansusces* instructions, and that if they held out but a few dayes till the comming of the Swethen Army, the Leager would easily be remooued.

Vansusce also bestirres himselfe to stirre vp the Muscouite to endure the siege vntil the comming of King *Charles* his forces: In the meane time *Demetrius* had vnderstanding secretly of some causes of discontent giuen from *Vansusce* to the traytour *Glasco*, both in the barres to his expected recompence, and also in the change of *Vansusces* fauour and countenance, for it is commonly so with Usurpers, when their turnes are serued by such Ministers, who hauing made all the vse of them they can, they conuert their seruices done, into iniuries, especially where there is an expectation of rewarde aboue merit for benefites with tyrants are of no longer pleasure, than they can with ease restore them, that once transcended, they study not how to reward, but to kill.

For *Glasco* supposed that his seruices to *Vansusce* were of such woorth and greatnes, that halfe the Empire had beene scarce his recompence. *Demetrius* therefore striuing to worke vppon

this his discontent, and that by him some meanes might be wrought for the surprise of the Citty, sent secretly his Lecters vnto *Glasco*, wherein after hee had touched (but in gentle termes) his disloyalty, he willed him to consider that there was no way for him to recouer the loue and opinion both of God and man, but to vntreade againe those steppings of treason, which from a corrupt minde his guiltie feete had before trodden, promising him in the word of a Prince, that if hee would find meanes for him to enter the Citty, hee would not onely pardon what was past, but restore him againe into his wonted place and fauour.

These Letters being intercepted, were brought to *Vansusce*, who presently caused this traytour to be committed to prison, where hauing a long time endured much miserie, hee was at last arraigned and condemned, and finally, were he faulty, were hee faultlesse, hee was executed in the *Mosco*, a fit death for such a life. There were many others of his confederacie, which because I knew not their names, I would not mention their actions, but this I deliuer from report, that none of them all died their naturall death, onely one excepted, that yet liues in a pelting Village in *Ruscia*, poore, wretched, miserable and hated of all the world.

CHAP. 10

King *Charles* of *Swethland* sendeth an army of twelue thousand Souldiers into *Ruscia*, vnder the command of Pontus de la Gard a French Coronell, the Ruscians ioyne with them and remooue the Leager: the Emperour *Demetrius* flees againe into the Dukedome of *Colloge*.

Now must the miseries of *Ruscia* be augmented by the comming of this Armie compounded of so many Nations, English, French and Scots. For though they came as a friend, and for their aide, yet who can stay an Armie from spoile and rapine, which the vnhappy Ruscian found true in the pursuite of this bloudy warre, not onely in their goodes and cattelles, but euen in their wiues and daughters, which in all places were made a prostituted prey to the lustfull appetite of the Souldiers. It was about the beginning of Summer, that this Army of King *Charles* descended into *Ruscia*, vnder the commaund of the aforementioned French Coronell *Pontus de la Gard*, who with all speede marched with this Armie to the Cittie of *Mosco*, encamping in the most commodious place they could find neare to the Polish Leager. *Demetrius* was therefore aduised to remooue, by them who fore-iudged the prooffe of that which the sequel manifested, foreseeing that it would be a hard matter for *Demetrius* to resist both the forces of the *Mosco*, and this new raised power, for being much wearied

with a long siege, being now also with this fresh Armie, in a manner beleagerd themselues, they soone found the want of victualles and other necessities, which in a short time brought them to great miserie, and to increase the Swethen Army, *Demetrius* the brother of *Vansusce* aduanceth himselfe forward with twentie thousand Russians, to ioyne with the Swethen forces.

Now are all places forestalled that might bring in succours to the Polish Leager. The Emperour *Demetrius* was now in greater miserie than euer before : for besides the wants which he endured, the Poales themselues beganne to murmure and muteny against him, insomuch as he was oftentimes enforced to heare many contumelious words and reproaches pronounced against him, that he was an vnhappie Prince, borne to a disastrous fortune, and not onelie for himselfe, but also for such as should take part with him.

The Councells that were daily held were continually diuided, some aduise to make their way thorow the Swethen Armie, others to continue the Leager, the most to parlée, the last was the worst that *Demetrius* liked, knowing well that there would be no composition made without his deliuary, either aliue or dead into the hands of *Vansusce*, which though the Poales knew it was for their best safety so to do, yet they did abhorre it as an execrable deed, to betray a Prince whom they had vndertaken to protect,

and to yeelde him to his enemies hands whom they had vowed to defend. To continue the Leager, was without all possibilitie of effecting, victualles growing so scarce in the Campe, that all prouision was deuoured so farre as they were enforced to eate their horses, and from this scarcitie followed a great mortallitie. The Poale being so straitly ingirt, that they wanted ground to bury the dead, the vnhappy Prince sits alone in his tent, all desolate and dismayed, wanting both courage and counsell in these extreames; in the Campe he sees his dignitie decreased, and his commaund not respected; in his Tent he feares murder, in his Cuppe poyson: and though the causes of these feares were false, there being no such intendments, yet to a troubled minde, ouerwhelmed with sorrow, oppressed with care, distracted with opinion what comfort or conceit can assure, his friends being a few noble men of *Russia* that were about him, comfort him and counsell him, that he would aduenture with those companies of Russians hee had yet in his commaund, which were faithful to him in all fortunes, being neuerthelesse not aboue the number of a thousand men, make an attempt in the dead of the night for their escape, euen through the Swethen Armie, the necessitie of the time and place say they vrge you to this dangerous resolution or to die, there being no third way for you to take: you shall not neede to feare

our loyalties, because our owne liues lies in the same hazard, and if wee liue or die, it shall be our glories, that wee haue either freed you from this danger, or that we haue communicated our seruice to the fortunes of our Prince. For the attempt it selfe, it may happily not prooue so full of perill as it appeares to be, for that the darkenesse of the night, the suddennesse of the action, and the aduantage of the place, wherein we are quarterd, being but against the skirtes of the Swethen Armie, may happily make our way with more safety, and lesse losse than you imagine, howsoeuer it falles out, the greatest danger dwells heere, where to remaine, there is nothing more certaine than certaine destruction. These words, together with the desperate condition of their estates, made him suddenly to apprehend the plot, and to entertaine with courage the resolution of this attempt, which was done so closely and so secretly, as it was not discovered till the larum was giuen: this was about the noone of the day, all the after noone was spent in councell, and in giuing directions, which also was done so couertly, as the Poales themselues doubted nothing lesse than that which was intended.

Now is the houre come wherein Demetrius must passe as great or a greater danger (by all opinion) than that of the Castle in Mosco, but with less feare or sorrow: for his vnhappy for-

tunes had now so inured him to such disastrous accidents, that his mind seemed to be suted to his miserie, all things therefore being ready, they beginne to dislodge, the larum was first giuen in the Swethen Armie, and was so suddenly answered in all places, that it bred a horrible confusion, the Poales feared a surprise from the Swethen Army, the Swethen from the Poales. When they came into the Emperours Tent, not finding either his Guard or himselfe, they cried out, that he had betrayed them. *Pontus de la Gard* drawes the best of his Forces to the head of his Campe, and there attends all attempts, whilst the Emperor with the losse of a few men had passed the danger, the darkenes of the night being a great help vnto him, his guides before day had brought him out of all feare from any followers, howbeit many of the Poales followed after, and yeelded themselues afterward to him in *Colloge*.

All this time both the Campes stooode still without anie attempt on either side. The Citty also not knowing the matter were soone in Armes, howbeit kept themselues within the walles, in the morning the Poales found the plot, and being driuen euery way to obey necessitie, they required Capitulations of truce with *Vansusce*, which was granted, the Articles drawne, the composition made, the Poles dislodged, and with colours displayed, they went, some into other parts of

Russia, turning Cossakes, and liuing vpon spoyle, some backe into *Poland*, who hauing related to their King, the manner of *Demetrius* flight, and by it their owne enforcements, he renounced for euer his friendship and alliance, protesting from thenceforth neuer to aide him either with men or money. But though hee seemed to be discontent, hee was neuerthelesse inwardly glad that such occasion was proffered, in his owne behalfe to reuenge and recouer the losse hee had sustained, and vnder this colour, together with the broken Title hee had to the Dukedome of *Seuean*, to inuade the whole Empire of *Russia*, and to keepe it for himselfe, which shortly after hee in person did, as you shall heare. And thus was the Polish Leager all this time remooued.

CHAP. 11

Kneseuansusce continues still his vsurped authoritie. *Sigismond* King of *Poland* descends into *Russia* with an army of a hundred thousand men: he beseegeth *Smalensco*, and the great City of *Mosco*. The Emperour *Demetrius* makes another attempt, but is driuen backe into the Dukedome of *Collogue*.

Now stooke *Vansusce* higher in state and opinion of the people than euer before: Now were there daily feastings and triumphs in the City, and all dedicated to *Vansusces* fortunes, Orations made daily in the publique Hall to the

people of eternall praise and immortall thanks to *Vansusces* greatnesse, euen aboue the straine of flatterie, attributing the safetie and preseruatiō of their liues and goodes to his wisdomē and prouidence, together with the generall good of the whole land, reduced by him from a manifest danger of vtter destruction, the benefit of whose peace (say they) and happy state next vnder God, wee deriue from his Imperiall Maiestie in his naturall and politique body, the one so absolute in bloud and qualitie, the other so excellent in State and Councell, that as he giues place to no Prince liuing for Stile and Territorie, reaching from the Riuer of *Ipre*, to the *Caspian* Sea, in Fame and Glorie they all giue place to him; and it is the vniuersall Joy of the whole Empire, that to a Prince voluptuous and full of defects, as was *Demetrius*, there hath succeeded a Prince of such high worth and estimation. They also gaue great praises and giftes to the French, English and Scottish for their paines taken, and valours shewne, in their defence, still retayning them in the Mosco for their garrison. But though the Citty was for a time thus deliuered, and in quiet, the Poles that remained still in the Countrey, hauing taken many Castles, and strengthened themselves in many places, commit all manner of vnspeakable cruelty and villany on the poore people, who can call nothing they haue their owne, neither wiues, children, nor

goodes, but are all made a prostituted prey to the Poles lust and rapine ; in their houses, sword and fire destroyeth them, in the woods, hunger and colde deuoureth them. Thus the poore Russians in many parts of the countrey doe miserably feele or endure, eyther alieue or dead, the bondage of the Poles tyranny. Yet these afflictions and calamities present, are but as a sufferable paine or disease, inflicting one part or limbe, in respect of the vniuersall mischiefe following, that tormented and almost destroyed the whole bodie of the Empire. For by this time *Sigismond* King of *Poland* raiseth a mighty Army, compounded of many Nations, as Tartars, Leiflanders, Coerlanders, together with some Companies of English, Scottish, and Dutch, and many numbers of Cossakes, which bee people drawne from all partes, following onely for spoyle and prey.

Vansusce hearing of these great preparations in *Poland*, fortifies the *Mosco* and other places of import in the Empire, but especially the Citty of *Smalensco*, whereof one *KneIacob* a Noble man of great power and vertue, was Duke and Gouvernour, howbeit at that time, for some reasons, he committed the gouvernement and defence of that Citty to an other whose name I could not learne. Thus all things being in a readinesse, both with the Pole for inuasion, and the Russian for resistance, *Sigismond* aduanceth forward with his



Fulcit Atlas humeris regnum radiantis Olympi,
 Fulcit Atlas firmo Poluica regna pede.
 At quis Atlas? Atlas coeli vel major Atlante,
 Perpetuis PIETAS, accumulata bonis,
 Hac astante nequit non magna POLONIA stare,
 Dum stabit coeli mole gravatus Atlas.

Lucas Kilian sculpsit
 et excudit.

[To face page 130.]

SIGISMUND III, KING OF POLAND.

From an engraving by Lucas Kilian.

Army, consisting of a hundred thousand fighting men. This was about Michaelmasse in the yeare 1609, for he stayed of purpose till their Haruest was ended for the reliefe of his Armie. Being descended into Russia, he came with his whole forces before the Citty of Smalensco, one Chollcosce a noble souldier that had done many honourable seruives against the Turke, being his Lieutenant generall.

Now had *Vansusce* (which I should haue remembred before) sent to King *Charles* of *Swethland* for more ayde, who presently dispatched his Messengers to *France*, *England*, and the *lowe Countries* for men. There were taken vp in *England* of Voluntaries, English, and Scottish, two thousand vnder the commaund of Captaine *Caluine* a Scottishman, lieutenant Coronell to my Lord of *Wormston*, and of Captaine *Coborne* a valiant Souldier Coronell of the horse. There were also sent at that time out of *France*, and the *low Countries*, to the number of one thousand more, the French vnder the commaund of Monsieur *la Vile* a Captaine of name and worth among them, the Dutch vnder the commaund of Coronell *Doue*: the English and Scottish Forces arriued in *Swethland* about the latter end of Maie, some in the Nulies, some at *Stockholland*, and some in other places, as the vncertaintie of winde and weather draue them. But being all at length met at *Stockhollam*, enter-

tained, mustered, and sworne vnto King *Charles*, our Forces, together with the French and Dutch, which by this time were all mette, stayed there the most part of the Summer, vntill the latter end of August, in which time the King had made his preparations ready for his Intendments to-wardes *Russia*. About the beginning of September these Forces tooke shipping for *Russia*, but by contrary windes were driuen vpon *Fynland*, where because the Commaunders had no directions to land their men, the frost ouertaking them, and victualls failing aboorde, our people vnaccustomed to so colde a climate, dyed in great numbers, for want of foode, and abundance of colde, insomuch that being not able to indure the extremitie, they landed their Forces by directions from the Gouvernour of *Abo*, a town scituate vppon the Sea: from thence to march to the Cittie of *Wyborrough*, being distant from the place of landing three score and tenne leagues, in which march they lost by the extremity of the colde, many of their men by the way, and many were left behinde sicke, that neuerthelesse did afterward recouer the Army. At the last being come to the Cittie of *Wyborrough* in *Fynnland*, our Troupes releued themselues after this long weary march, and being kindly entertained of the Bourgers, kept their Christmasse in the citie, and rested there for the space of foureteene dayes, wanting no necessities that their present case

required. After this time expired, our Troupes marched three daies iourney to the Sea side, that Sea being narrow in that place, parting *Fynland* and *Russia*: heere they marched eight leagues vppon the Ice, and hauing once set footing in *Russia*, the people of the Countrey being vnacquainted of their comming, forsooke their houses, fleeing into the woods and other vnknowne places, for the miserie of the warre was so great by the outrages of the Souldiers, that they found cause to distrust all, aswel those that came to defend them, as such as came to destroy them. Yet our troupes committed no other spoile in their march, but onely in their prouision for victualls, which in all places they found in abundance, our Troupes marched in small journeis the foure moneths following, Januarie, Februarie, March and Aprill, vnder the guide and conduct of one *Burrisse* a Noble man of the Countrey, appoynted by *Vansusce* for that businesse; in which march they freed those parts of the Countrey, which the Pole before was possessed of, as the first, a towne of import called *Stallarusse*, which the Pole forsooke vppon their comming, and fled. But Monsieur la Vile following them with a few horse, cut them in peeces. They marched from thence to a Towne of defence called *Costasco*, which the Pole had alittle before beleagerd, but vpon an assault made, hauing found an vnexpected resistance. And hearing

the approach of the strangers, they fled before our comming. By this time the Sunne in his delightsome progresse hauing passed the Equinoc-tiall, had turned the wearie wrackes of wastefull winter, into the cheerefull view of the Summers beauty, at which time, it being in the beginning of Maie, our Troupes recouerd a very pleasant country, where in great plenty they found all necessaries for horse and man. After some few dayes march in this champian countrey our Troupes receiued intelligence where the Enemy lay, to the number of seauen or eight thousand, at a Towne called *Arioua* some foure score verts, which is three score English miles from them. This *Arioua* was a great Towne, scituate on the side of a hill, pleasant to looke vppon, the great riuier of *Volga* running through it, and as it were, equally parting it in the midst, with a strong and faire Castle in it; howbeit the Towne vnwalled and vndefensible.

Our men hauing receiued true relation, both concerning the Towne, the Poles strength, the distance, and the best way that leadeth vnto it, they entered into councell, what best was to be done for the surprize of this Towne, and a non-slaught of the Poles, and as alwayes in such cases of weight, there are diuersitie of Judgements and Opinions, some giuing councell one way, some another, the brauest spirites stirred vp with honourable emulation of others fame

and greatnes, presse forward for employment. Coronell *Coborne* being the first that desired to haue the vndertaking of this businesse with fīue hundred horse; but his plot being disliked, as being too full of danger, Monsieur *la Vile* the French Coronell vndertooke with foure hundred horse to doe some notable seruice or other, as occasion should be proffered. For many times in such doubtfull cases, vnlooked for Accidents and vnplotted attempts finde better opportunitie and successe in preuayling vppon the sudden, than premeditated and fore-decreed Councells. Thus hauing taken some of euery Troupe, English, Scottish, and French, with the aide of three other Captaines, as Captaine *Cosmorre*, a Moore, a very valiant Souldier, brought vp in the warres of the Netherlands, the other Captaine *Crale* an Englishman, and Captaine *Creton* a Scottishman, with this number of foure hundred horse. *La Vile* earely in the morning leauing the Armie in their quarters marched towards *Arioua*, by the way they mette with a Conskippe of the Enemy, being a hundred horse vppon the skirt of a wood, it beeing sent from the maine Army in *Arioua* as a scowt-watch to discouer our Troupes, for they had Intelligence before of our being in the Countrey. Their Vancurriers hauing espied our forces, gaue the larum, and presently turned backe and fled, but our Troupe followed, slew some, forced others to take the

riuer of *Vollga*, tooke many prisoners, the rest fled, fying the Countrey as they went, and brought the newes of our approach to *Arioua*. *La Vile* with his troupes held on his course, meeting with no other Occurrents by the way till hee came to a little riuer, which they found so deepe, and the current running so swift by reason of the late dissoluing of the Snowe, that they knew not how to passe ouer. *La Vile* himselfe proffered to giue the attempt, but was stayed by others that looked into the daunger: a French Souldier of his Troupe, shewing more courage than foresight, tooke the riuer with his horse, and by the violence of the Streame, were both drowned. Here they spent some time to seeke out a foord, but found none: at last they espied a narrow place, where (pulling downe an olde house standing hard by) with the rafters thereof they made a little bridge, vppon which they passed on foote, swimming ouer with their horses in their hands. Thus they marched forward till they came within sight of *Ariuua* about the noone time of the day. *La Vile* when he came within view of the Towne, and saw how it stode parted by the riuer of *Vollga*, might perceiue afarre off on the other side of the Towne, the Enemies colours displayed in great numbers, the sodainenesse of the action bred a terrour on both partes, the Poales verily beleeuing that the maine Armie of our forces to be at hand, and

our troupes supposing the Enemies strength to be as great on that side the riuer as on the other, though vndescried, howbeit they kept on their march towards the Towne, with resolution to doe some notable seruice, eyther by death or victorie : when they came within halfe a league of the Towne, they espied fīue hundred horses of the Enemy aduanced against them, where on the sodaine both sides awhile stood in gaze of an other. At last fourty of the Enemies horses were drawne forth, with proffer of a charge after the manner of a Brauada, a twelue or sixeteene of our horses gaue an onset to answer them, slew some, and beat the rest backe into their maine strength, so that both partes againe stood in gaze one of another. Some doubted that it was the policie of the Pole to draw our forces neerer to the Towne, and so to encompassse them with their Armie on the other side of the riuer.

But *La Vile*, whose courage ouercame all feare, seeing no third way to be taken, but eyther that night to die, or to be Maisters of the Towne, out of a braue and honourable minde, with a few words in Dutch, did after this manner encourage his Souldiers. Wee haue come (saith he) thus farre (my louing friends and followers) with purpose and resolution to doe some speciall seruice or other, in the honour of our Countries, and profession, for aduauncing the successe of the maine action for this Land against the Poles tyranny

in the behalfe of the King of *Swethen*. This place of Commaund which at this time I enioy with your consents, I will striue with all my power to discharge, as well for your safeties and contentments, as mine owne honour and reputation, and though we be of seuerall Nations, Languages, and Customes, we are in this businesse tyed together in an indissoluble band of loue and partnership, eyther to liue or die together, the best hope is, wee haue one God to defend vs all, whose outstretched arme ouer-swayeth all. Let not then eyther our owne weakenesse, or our Enemies strength affright vs, for besides the atchiuements of Honour that pricketh forward euerie worthy minde, there is a necessitie to put vs forward, for backe we cannot goe, without certaine dishonour and destruction, all places being harried and spoiled by the Pole, and no reliefe to be found: the riuers also and the champian fields will giue them aduantage with their numbers to hemme vs in, and cut vs in peeces: and if I be not deceiued, they stand in more doubt of vs, than we of them, as I iudge by the vncertaine wauing of their colours on the other side the riuier, and it may be all their feare hath giuen them false Intelligence, that wee are to receiue seconds from our maine Armie, which they suppose to be at hand. From this feare of theirs springeth my hope, that in spight of the Poales Armie wee shall rest in yonder Towne

this night, and with that, crying out with a high voyce and spirite, Ihesus met ounce, which in English is, Jesus be with vs, with a braue courage they aduaunced forward. Captayne *Cosmorre* with the Englishmen gaue the charge, and was seconded by the French men.

The Pole seeing the charge thus made with such resolution, fearing (as it was afterward knowne) the approach of our maine Armie, turned their backs, and fled. Notwithstanding they had a second of foure hundred horses more, our troupes followed with all speede, slew many with the sword, the most of them tooke the riuier of *Vollga*, thinking to recouer their maine Army, but the greatest numbers of them were drowned. Our troupes thus entred the towne of *Arioua* without any other resistance, and found the castle abandoned, at which they maruelled, that a Towne and Castle of such strength and import, hauing eight thousand men to defend it, should be thus forsaken.

CHAP. 12

Vansusce sends his forces to ioyne with the strangers, to the number of thirty thousand. *Pontus de la Gard* Generall of the strangers, attempts to rayse the Poles Leager from *Smalensco*, but in a set battell is fought withall and ouerthrowne by the Pole.

ARIOUA being thus taken in, our Troupes rested there three dayes till our maine Armie came vp,

in which time the Pole stayed in the Towne on the other side the riuier. But when they saw the approach of all our forces, they hastned their departure, and because they supposed the Inhabitants had betrayed them, they set fire on that side of the Towne in the dead of the night, onely to reuenge suspition, where after a most cruell and barbarous manner, they burned and slew, man, woman, and child; a lamentable sight it was, to beholde the flame, and to heare the confused cries of the people, which was the more miserable, because, as there was no pittie in the Pole to respect them, so there was no way in our Troups to releue them, by reason of the riuier, which for want of boats they could not passe. The Poles hauing thus satisfied their rage vpon the poore Russian with blood and fire like incarnate diuells, without remorse, leauing this miserable people of all sortes and sexes, from the impotencie of Age, to the innocence of Infants, burning in that earths hell of horror, they marched away with drummes beating, trumpets sounding, colours displaying, as if they had effected some notable atchieuement. Early in the morning, *La Vile* perceiuing them march way alway, hauing had the night before many boats brought vp the riuier by the Russe, carried his principall Forces ouer, and with all speede followed them. The first night they ouertooke them in their quarters, slew many of them, tooke

many of their colours, and forced the rest to flee, who still burning and spoyling the Country as they went, left no reliefe to helpe our Forces in the pursuite, so that in three dayes, hauing cleered all that part of the Countrey, they returned to *Arioua*, where our Armie rested some fourteene dayes : and as contraries are euer best knowne by their contraries, they found the excellencie of rest after their labour, and of plenty after their wants. For heere they found all things in abundance that in many places before they wanted.

Not long after *La Vile* with *Cosmer* the Moore, and lieutenant *Conisby* a very resolute Souldier, tooke in a Towne called *Pogrilla*, together with a strong Skonce manned by the Pole, taking it vpon a sur prize in the night putting them all to the sword onely the Gouvernour, and some few other reserued, *La Vile* within a while after, went to the *Mosco*, accompanied with many Officers, English, Scottish and French, where *Vansusce* entertained them with liberall gifts and rewards to euery one. Heere they met with *Pontus de la Gard*, and found a great power of the Russians in a readinesse for seruice. *Sigismond* lying all this while before *Smalensco*, vnderstanding of the free passages, that the strangers had made thorow the Countrey euen to the *Mosco*. And hauing received further Intelligence, that their Forces were ready to ioyne with resolution

to attempt to raise the Leager from before *Smalensco*, sent vppon the sodaine *Cholcosce* his lieutenant generall with fifteene thousand Launciers, and thirtie thousand Cossakes to take a Skonce of great import called Gregory, that lieth in the common passage between two great woods from *Mosco* to *Smalensco*.

This Skonce being thus strongly beleaguered on all sides, *Vansusce* raiseth his Armie from the *Mosco*, constituting his brother *Demetrius* their Generall, who ioyning with the strangers forces, of whom *Pontus la Gard* had the commaund, they march towards the Skonce of *Gregory*, the whole Armie consisting of fortie thousand. Being come within two daies march of the Skonce, the Enemy hauing gotten intelligence by some of our fugitiues, of the approach of this Armie, their numbers and purposes, which was to surprise them in the night vppon a nonslaught. *Cholcosce* to preuent their proiect the night before, drawes out of his Leager three thousand and fiue hundred Launciers, being Noble men and Gentlemen of the best rancke and resolution, that came with the King out of *Poland*, together with seuen thousand Cossakes, and with this number, hauing nine thousand Launciers more for a second, closely in the night they marched; and earely in the morning, which was Midsummer day, they fell sodainely vpon our quarters. Our men trusting that the Muscouite, who knew the

Countrey, would by the Scowt-watches haue giuen the larum of any sodaine approach. But the Russe not daring to stirre out of their quarters, was the cause of our vnhappy defeature, and their owne vtter ouerthrow, for our men being thus put into amazement by the larum giuen. *Pontus de la Gard* did according to the shortnesse of the time, and the weight of the danger, dispose in this manner of his Forces, the vangard he gaue to *Edward Horne* a full Souldier and a braue Commaunder with his Regiment of Fynlanders, who were the first that stode the Poles charge. But being ouercharged by the Poles number of Launciers, they fled, scarce abiding the charge. Coronell *Coborne* commaunding the English horse, aduaunced forward with his Troupes, to answer the Pole. The French and Dutch did the like. But *Cholcosce* finding them weakely armed and horsed, being also encouraged before with the ouerthrow of the Fynlanders, with corage and resolution followed the tract of his fortune; and in short time ouerthrew the whole Forces of the strangers horse, but with the death of many of his owne Launciers. The whole Army of the Russe seeing the fortune of our forces, being themselues out of danger, fled, without stroke striking. The companies of our foote, seeing the successe of the day, did barrocade themselues with Cartes and Waggons, with resolution to fight it

out to the last man, or to take some honorable composition. Which *Cholcosce* preceiuing, and doubting some further stratagem, his returne also back to the Skonce of *Gregory* being of moment, satisfying himselfe at that time with the glorie of this day, made a tender of these proffers following, that if they would giue ouer their strength, they should be at libertie, eyther to serue the Emperour, or the King of *Pole* with the same pay they had : if they would returne to the King of *Swethland*, they should haue leaue, if into theyr owne Countries, they should haue licence, and helpe to passe through the Poles Country, with the Kings fauour. These proffers were accepted, and they hauing yeelded, did seuerally dispose of themselues, some backe to the Emperour, some to the King of *Swethen*, the rest of them to the *Pole*, many home into their Countries. Thus was this great Armie vn-happily dispersed, that neuer met together againe. *Pontus de la Gard*, *Edward Horne*, *La Vile*, *Collayne*, and *Coborne*, with a few Officers, and some Souldiers, to the number of fiue hundred, returned backe to the King of *Swethland*.

CHAP. 13

The Emperor *Demetrius* returnes from *Colloge* with a hundred thousand men and beleagers *Mosco* on the one side of the towne, *Cholcosce* on the other. *Vansusce* is taken prisoner, and sent into *Poland*. *Demetrius* flees againe to *Colloge*, and is at last miserably slayne by a Tartar.

VANSUSCE hearing of the ouerthrow of his Army, was much troubled in his minde, especially for the defeature of the strangers, vpon whom he principally trusted: he now saw that the hand of God was against him in dangers ineuitable, which by humane reason and iudgement, he could not auoyde, he feared *Demetrius* on the one side, that had drawne together in *Colloge* a hundred thousand men, with purpose to besiege the *Mosco* on the other side. He knew the Poales forces before *Smalensco*, and that they were still re-inforced with new supplies: he feared *Gregory* could not hold out that Skonce, bearing his name which *Cholcosce* had beleagured, but that he would yeelde it vp vppon any composition, as indeede he did. He knew then that there was no barre nor hawlt for the Poales Armie to march from *Smalensco*, to the City of *Mosco*. To the increase of these feares hee sawe the citty empty of victualles, and other prouision for the warres. But that which most troubled him, he found his reputation much lessened in

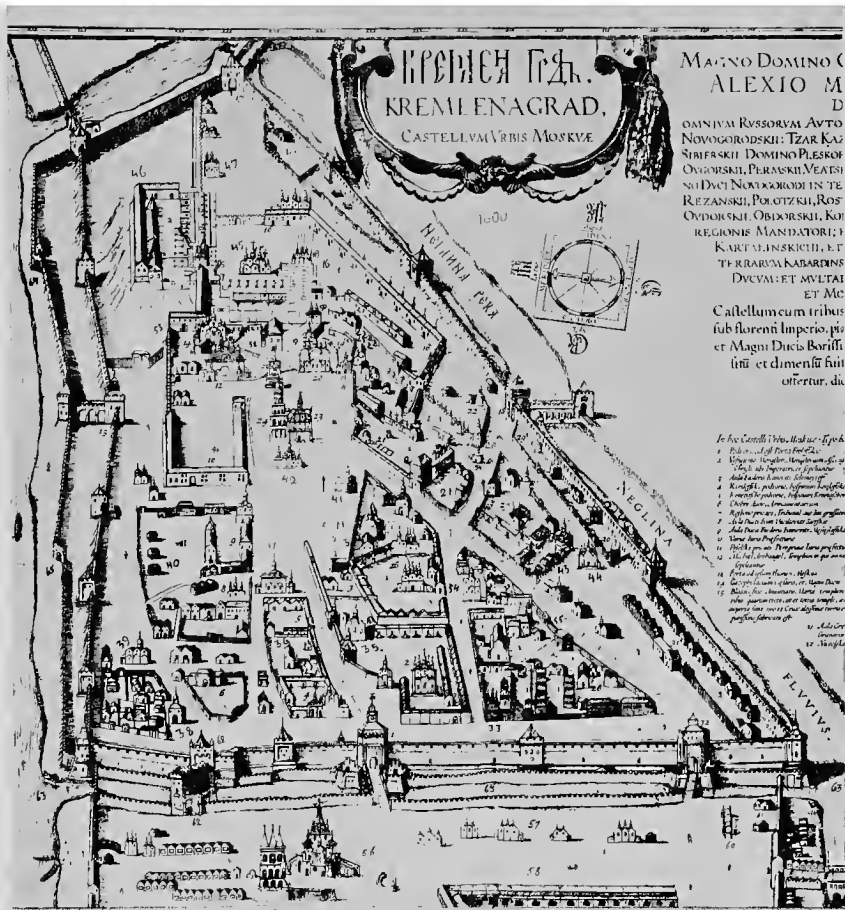
the opinion of the Muscouite. While *Vansusce* stooode thus exercised and perplexed with these feares, sayling betwixt *Scilla* and *Charibdis*, in doubt which way to take the Emperour *Demetrius*, layes hold of the occasion, and once more attempts with this new raised power to recouer his Empire, hee therefore with all speed aduanceth forward with this great Army, consisting of a hundred thousand men, that in those tumultuous times, either for his loue, or their owne safeties had fled vnto him, there were also ten thousand Poles in his Army, that had followed him in his last flight from the *Mosco*. He hauing thus once more like an Emperour the commaunding of such an Armie, which neuerthelesse was more fearefull for their numbers then in their armes and courage, came before the Citty, fortifying his camp, and planting his Ordonance, which soone beganne to batter.

Sigismond King of *Poland* hauing intelligence hereof takes his aduantage in this diuision and sends *Cholcosce* his lieutenant generall, hauing lately taken in the fort of *Gregory* with forty thousand men to beleager the other side of *Mosco*, there were also fifteene hundred strangers in his army, English, Scottish, and French, that had put themselues into the King of Poles service after their defeature on Midsummerday. Now was this great citty inuironed on all sides,

with huge numbers of men of warre, and in short time brought to so great misery in the height of all extreame, that if a man could imagine in such a case the worst of calamity, such was the wretched fortune of this citty, wherein nothing but horror and despaire was found, the canon roring without, women and children crying within, the noise of drums, trumpets, horses, harquebuses, and the helplesse grones of dying men, made it on earth a hell to the miserable Muscouite. Famine also at length so pinchd them that they found these mischiefes to be vnsufferable. Now was *Vansusce* without heart or hope, fearing daily to bee betrayed by his owne friends, if we may call it treason, to betray a traitor, and his feares prooued true, for many noble men that were about him, looking into the present times condition, and reducing to their mindes the nature of the times past, they found *Vansusce* to be both the originall and efficient cause of all these miseries, and that God had thus plagued them with the plagues of men, for suffering an vsurper to raigne ouer them, so that at last vpon aduice taken, they tooke *Vansusce* prisoner sitting in councell among them, with suppose, by deliuering him captiue, to make their peace with *Cholcosce*. O had the vnkinde and vnstable Muscouite deliuered this vsurper vnto their lawfull Emperour *Demetrius* that lay on the other side the

cittie, and had brought him in with their submission and acknowledgement of alegeance, they might haue had the hand of God to haue fought for them, and haply in short time recouered their former peace and glorie. But they doubting his weakenesse, and fearing the strength of the Poles, deliuered vp their prisoner, together with the Citty into the power of *Cholcosce*, to be kept for the king of Pole. Which in this manner was effected.

It was agreed vpon betweene *Cholcosce* and the State of *Russia*, that he should haue deliuered into his hands, the Citty and the Castle to be held with a garrison for *Sigismond* King of *Poland*, vnto whom they proferred acknowledgement of homage and fealtie, conditionally that *Cholcosce* with his Armie should presently remooue the Leager of the Emperour *Demetrius* on the other side the riuer. These proffers were accepted of *Cholcosce*, together with the condition, conditionally that they should deliuer sufficient hostages into his hands for the safegard of himselfe and his Army, which was graunted, and a many of the Nobilitie chosen out as the great Patriarch of *Mosco*, *KneIacob* Duke of *Smalensco*, and others of great power, who being deliuered to the *Cholcosce*, sent them all as pledges to the King of *Pole*. Thus *Cholcosce* hauing taken possession of the Citty marcheth through to



[To face page 148.

PLAN OF THE KREMLIN IN THE REIGN OF BORIS GODOUNOV, A.D. 1600.

fight with Demetrius, and in short time ouer-threw him, who fleeing againe to *Colloge*, found himselfe there also abandoned of all his friends. Thus this vnhappy Prince, fleeing from place to place, finding no place for safetie, was afterward (as I haue heard it reported) miserably slaine by a Tartar.

Thus *Cholcosce* returning backe to the Cittie in triumphant manner was solemnely intertained of the Muscouite, who presented him also with many great gifts. He hauing stayed a while in the Cittie, and planted a garrison of eight thousand Poles in the Castle, returned to *Smalensco* with his prisoner *Vansusce* and deliuered him to his maister the King of *Pole*, who not long after sent him into *Poland*, to be kept prisoner at the Castle of *Waringborrough*, where he yet liues a miserable captiue.

Sigismond the yeare following takes in *Smalensco* vpon assault, and returnes into *Poland*, disposing the most part of his Armie into garri-sons in *Russia*. But the Muscouite in short time after rebelled, and hauing drawne the Tartare as their Assistants, after a long and bloudie assault, they at the last recouered the Cittie and Castle of *Mosco*, putting all the Poles to the sword. Thus was the *Colloge* againe freed, but not secured from the tyranny of the Poales, who are still possessors of a great part of that

Countrey, sometimes losing in one place, oftentimes gaining in an other, neuer resting, but still in action, which the wretched people doe miserably sustaine. And thus (as I vnderstand) stands the condition of this torne Empire of *Russia* at this day.

FINIS.

VIII

NARRATIVE OF AN ENGLISHMAN SERVING AGAINST POLAND

The simple and pathetic narrative by one of Captain Crale's men gives a description of his tedious journey to Russia and of the dangers experienced *en route*. It supplies the personal and British point of view, lends a vivid touch of reality to the events of so long ago, and links them with those of to-day.

ABOUT a fortnight before Midsummer, which was A. 1609, a companie of Voluntaries, to the number of a thousand and two hundred Souldiers, were at seuerall times shipped from England to passe into Sweden, to aide the King of that Countrie in his warres against the King of Poland. To which aide diuers other Nations did likewise resort, as French, high Dutch, &c. Of the English Companies that went thither, the first was commanded by one Caluine a Scot; who by appointment was made Lieutenant Colonell, and chiefe of the other Captaines ouer the footmen.

After the first Companie was gone, a second number of three hundred men (of which I the Relator of this, was one) were put into one ship belonging to Sweden, and came from thence for vs. We were assaulted with a great tempest,

and were tossed so long, that all our victuals were almost spent : the miserie of which threw vs into more desperate feares : now were wee assaulted by double deaths (Famine and Shipwrack) what course to take for our reliefe no man presently knew. Continue without foode it was impossible, and as impossible was it for vs to recouer the Land in any short time, without the assured destruction of vs all. At this season, our Commanders were these ; Lieutenant Benson, Lieutenant Walton, who was Prouost Martiall of the field ; and an Ancient of the Colonels companie. The common Souldiers vowed and resolved to compell the Mariners (seeing the present miseries, and no hopes promising better—to set vs all on shoare vpon the first Land that could be discouered. Our Commanders did what they could be diswasion to alter this generall resolution, because they feared it would bee the losse of the greatest part of our Companies, if they came once to bee scattered : and besides, they knew that it would redound to their dishonour and shame, if they should not discharge the trust imposed vpon them by our Captaines, which trust was to conduct vs and land vs before, whilst our Chieftaines remayned a while behinde in England, to take vp the rest of our Companies. Yet all this notwithstanding, Land being discouered, there was no eloquence in the world able to

keep vs aboard our ship, but euery man swore if the Master of the ship would not set vs on the shoare, the sailes should be taken into our owne hands, and what was resolved vpon (touching present landing) should in despite of danger be effected. Vpon this the Master of the ship and the Mariners told vs, that if we put to land in that place, we should all either perish for want of victuals, which were not to bee had in that Countrie, or else should haue our throats cut by the people. Wee resolved rather to trie our bad fortunes on the land, and to famish there (if that kind of death must needes attend vpon vs) then to perish on the Seas, which we knew could affoord vs no such mercy; and on shoare wee went, as fast as possibly we could. When our Officers saw, that there was no remedie, nor force to detayne vs aboard, they then disheartened vs no longer, but to our great comforts told it, that the Master of the ship (which thing hee himselfe likewise openly confessed) knew both the Land and Gouvernour thereof (as indeed we proued afterwards he did :) and therefore desired they all our companies not to misse-behaue themselves toward the people, for that it was an Iland called Iuthland, vnder the Dominion of the King of Denmarke, but subject to the command of a Lord, who vnder the King (as his Substitute) was the Gouvernour.

And that we might be the better drawne to a ciuill behaiour towards the Inhabitants, our Officers further told vs, that they would repaire to the Lord Gouvernour of the Countrie, and acquaint him with the cause of our vnexpected landing there; vpon which we all promised to offer no violence to the people; neither was that promise violated, because we found the Inhabitants tractable, and as quiet towards vs, as we to them; yet the greater numbers of them ran away with feare, at the first sight of vs, because (as afterward they reported) it could not bee remembred by any of them, that they euer either beheld themselues, or euer heard any of their ancestors report, that any strange people had landed in those places and parts of the Iland: for they thought it impossible (as they told vs) that any ship should ride so neere the shoare, as ours did, by reason of the dangerous Sands.

Our Officers so soone as they were at land, went to the Gouvernour of the Iland, whilst the Souldiers (who stayed behind them) ran to the houses of the Ilanders, of purpose to talke with the people, and at their hands to buy victuals for a present reliefe: but when wee came among them, they could neither vnderstand vs nor we them; so that the Market was spoiled, and wee could get nothing for our money, yet by such signes as wee could make, they vnderstood our

wants pitied them, and bestowed vpon vs freely, a little of such things as they had. In the end, a happy meanes of our reliefe was found out by a Souldier amongst vs who was a Dane by birth, but his education hauing beene in England, no man knew him to be other then an Englishman.

This Dane made vse of his owne natieue language, to the good both of himselfe and vs, certifying the people (who rather beleeued him because he spake in their knowne tongue) of the cause that compelled vs to land vpon their Coast, and that we intended no mischief, violence, or money : to which report of his they giuing credit, stood in lesse feare of vs then before, and thereupon furnished vs with all such necessities, as the Countrie afforded to sustaine our wants. The foode which wee bought of them was onely fish, and a kinde of course bread, exceeding cheape. Of which foode there was such plentie, that for the value of three pence wee had as much fish as twentie men could eate at a meale, and yet none of the worst sorts of fish, but euen of the very best and daintiest, as Mackrels and Lobsters, and such like. In which our trading with the poore simple people, we found them so ignorant, that many, yea most of them regarded not whether you gaue them a Counter, or a Shilling : for the bigger the piece was, the more fish they would giue for it : but besides fish wee could get no

other sustenance from them, or at least, could not vnderstand that they had any other. But obserue what happened in the meane time that we were thus in traffique with the Ilanders for victuals, our Officers (as before is said) being gone to the Lord Gouvernour, who lay about twelue English miles from the Sea side, the Master of our ship on a sudden hoysed vp sailes, and away he went, leauing one of his owne men at shoare, who accompanied our Officers as their guide, through the Iland, The cause of the ships departure, did so much the more amaze vs, by reason it was so vnexpected, and the reason thereof vnknowne to vs: But wee imagined the Master of the ship and Mariners feared to receiue vs into the Vessell againe, because some of our men at their being at Sea, threatned the Saylers, and offered them abuses before they could be brought to set vs on land.

On the next day following, the Lord Gouvernour of the Iland came to vs, bringing our Officers along with them, yet not being so confident of vs, but that (for auoyding of any dangers that might happen) he came strongly guarded with a troupe of Horse-men well armed. And (vpon his first approch) demanding where our ship was, it was told him in what strange manner it stole away and forsooke vs: he then asked what we intended to doe, to which we all answered, that we would be ruled by our

Officers : hereupon hee inquired of them, what they would haue him to doe in their behalves : they requested nothing else at his hands, but onely his fauourable Passe through the Countrie, and a ship to carry vs forward into Sweden; to which request hee made answeere, that he could grant no such licence vntill he had made the King of Denmarke acquainted with our being there, for the Iland belonged to the King, he said, and he was no more but an Officer or Substitute vnder him. Yet in consideration that our ship had so left vs in a strange Land, he promised to doe all that lay in his power to effect our good : but withall told vs, that the people had inward feares, and were possest with suspitions, that our intents of landing vpon such a Coast, were not, as we our selues affirmed, only to get foods, but rather to make spoile of the poore Inhabitants. And therefore, to remooue all such feares and jealousies out of the peoples hearts, he held it most conuenient for the generall safeties of both parties, to separate our numbers, and to apreade vs abroad in the Countrie, one and one in a house, where it was agreed that we should receiue both a lodging, and meate, and drinke, vntill hee had sent to the King of Denmarke some of his owne men with our Officers, to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, and what should become of vs.

To this we all agreed, and accordingly for

that purpose, were by the Lord Gouvernour, safely by these armed horse-men which were his guard, conducted to his owne house. To that place were al the people of the Iland summoned together, they came at the appointed day to the number of fieve or six hundred, circling vs round with Bils, Holbards, two-hand Swords, and diuers other weapons: And at the first sight of vs grew into such rage, that presently they would haue cut all our throats, and hewed vs to pieces, but that the authoritie of the Gouvernour kept them from offering violence, yet was hee faine to vse the fairest meanes of perswasion to allay their furie. For they would not beleeeue but that our arriuall there was to destroy them. Yet the Gouvernour shewed vnto them all our number, which was but three hundred men, and those all vnweaponed, and so consequently, neither likely nor able to vnder-take any mischief against them: Charging the vnruely multitude, vpon paine of death, not to touch the least finger of vs, but to diuide vs equally into seuerall Villages, as it should seems best vnto them, and so bestow kinde and louing entertainment vpon vs till they heard further from him, which command of his they accordingly performed.

Immediately vpon this setting of them and vs in quietnesse, one of our Officers with two of the Gouvernours men, were sent away to the

King of Denmarke, to vnderstand his Highnesse pleasure, which Messengers were no sooner dispatched about the businesse, but the Ilanders growing more and more suspitious, came againe to the Gouvernour, and neuer would cease or giue ouer troubling him, vntill they had gotten him to make Proclamation (in hearing of vs all.) That if any of vs would freely discouer the true cause of our landing vpon that Coast, and reueale the plots of any dangerous enterprise intended against them, he should not onely be rewarded with great store of money, and haue new apparell to his backe, but also should without tortures, imprisonment, or death be set free, and sent backe againe into his owne Countrie. This Proclamation strucke vs all with feare and astonishment, because albeit we to our selues were not guiltie of any plot, or villany intended to the place or people, yet wee knew this might be a meanes to endanger all our liues, how innocent soeuer. Our suspition of danger fell out according to our feares: for one Thomas Griffyn a Welch man, one of our owne company, went and kneeled before the Gouvernour, and with a face counterfeiting a guiltinesse and fearefull destruction, told him that we came thither onely, and for no other purpose, then to surprise the Iland, kill the Inhabitants, make spoile of their wiues and goods, and hauing set fire of their Townes and Villages, to

flye to Sea againe. Yet for all this would not the Gouvernour beleue him, telling him it was a matter very vnlikely, that so small a number, so distressed for want of foode, so weather-beaten and so disarmed, should venture vpon an enterprise so full of dangerous euent; but the villaine replied, that all those complaints of want, were but songs to beguile the people, for that vpon the least Allarum giuen, other ships that lay houering at Sea, and furnished both with men and armour, would on the sudaine, and that very shortly land for the same desire of spoyle, as these their fellowes had done, and therefore counselled the Gouvernour to preuent such imminent mischiefes betimes.

The Gouvernour being thus farre vrged, presently called before him Lieutenant Walton, whose lodging was appointed in his house, and hauing related to him all that Griffin had discovered, and withall, demanding of Lieutenant Walton what he could say to this matter of treason and conspiracie, the Lieutenant at the first stood amazed, and vtterly denied any such intended villany, protesting by the faith of a Souldiour, that this report of the Welch-man proceeded from the rancour of a vile traitors heart, and therefore on his knees intreated the Gouvernour, not to giue credit to so base a villaine, who for the greedinesse of a little money, went about to sell all their liues, and to

make all the Inhabitants of the Iland become murderers : The rest lay scattered about and knew nothing of the matter. Now soone after, just as the traitor had told the Gouvernour, that more ships were not farre off, but were ready to second vs vpon our arriuall, it chanced that in the very heat of this businesse, and their feares of danger where none was, two other shippes full of armed Souldiers came to the same place of the Iland where our shippe put in : These two ships had brought Souldiours out of the low Countries (a cessation of warres being there) and were going into Swethland, as we were, but by crosse windes and fowle weather, lay so long at Sea, that wanting victuals, they were driuen in hither for succour. Whose sudaine approach and ariuall being signified to the Lord Gouvernour, the Welch-mans words were then thought true ; all the Iland was presently vp in Armes to resist the strength and furie of a most dangerous supposed enemy : and so secretly did the Inhabitants put on Armes, that we who were kept like prisoners amongst them, knew not of these vproares. But night approaching, the General gaue speciall charge that secret watch should be set and kept ouer euery Souldior that lodged in any mans house : which by the common people was as narrowly performed, for they did not onely watch vs as the Commander commanded, but amongst themselues a secret

conspiracie was made, that in the dead of night, when wee should be fast asleepe, they should come and take vs in our beds, and there to bind vs with cords: it being an easie thing to do so, when our company were diuided one from another ouer the whole Iland. At the houre agreed vpon, the plot was put in force, for they entred our Chambers, and bound euery Souldier as he lay, making them all ready like so many sheepe marked out for the slaughter. For mine owne part, I had fiue men and three women to bind me, who so cunningly tyed me fast with cords, whilst I slept, and felt nothing, nor dreamt of any such matter, that with a twitch onely I was plucked starke naked out of my bed, and laid vpon the cold earth vnderneath a Table, with my armes bound behinde me, so extreameely hard, as foure men could draw them together, my feete tyed to the foote of the Table, and my necke bound to the vpper part or bord of the Table.

In these miserable tortures lay I, and all the rest (in seuerall houses) all that night, and the most part of the next day, our armes and legges being pinched and wrung together in such pittillesse manner, that the very bloud gushed out at the fingers ends of many. The enduring of which torments was so much the more grievous, because none knew what we had done that could incense them to this so strange and

spitefull cruelty, neither could we, albeit we inquired, learne of our tormentors the cause, because we vnderstood not their language.

Whilest thus the whole Iland was full of the cries of wretched men, and that euery house seemed a shambles, ready to haue Innocents there butchered the next day, and that euery Ilander had the office of a common cut-throate or executioner; Gods wonderfull working turned the streame of all their cruelty: For the two ships that came out of the low Countries, and whose arriuall draue so many miserable soules almost vpon the rocks of destruction, hauing in that dolefull and ruinous night, gotten some prouision aboard, weighed Anchor, and departed towards Swethland. Which happy newes being serued vp at breakfast to the Lord Gouverneur betimes in the morning, and that the Shippes had offered no violence to the Countrey, but had paid for what they tooke: About eleauen of the clocke the very same day at noone, wee were all like vnto so many dead men cut downe, and bidden to stand vpon our legges, although very few had scarce legges that could stand.

Of one accident more that befell, I thinke it not amisse to take note, which began merrily, but ended tragically, and in bloud; and that was this: Foure of our company being lodged in one Village, and they being bound to the

peace, as you may perceiue the rest were; it happened that an Hoast, where one of them lay, had tipleed hard, and gotten a Horses disease, called the Staggers : In comes he stumbling, to the roome where the poore Englishman was bound to the Table hand and foote: which thing the drunken Sot beholding, drew his Hatchet, which he wore at his girdle, according to the fashion of the Country, and because hee would be sure his prisoner should not escape, with his Hatchet he cleft his head. And thinking in that drunken murderous humour, he had done a glorious act, away he reeles out of his owne house to that house where the other three Souldiours lay bound, where beating at the doores and windowes, and the Hoast asking what he meant to make such a damnable noyse; he told him so well as he could stammer it out, that the Lord Gouvernour had sent him thither to put the three English-men to death. Vpon this, the diuell and he (hand in hand) were let in, the one standing so close at the other's elbow, that he neuer left him till he had cleft two of their heads, that lay bound: and being then weary (it should seeme) with playing the butcher, he neuer ceased swearing and staring, and flourishing with his bloudy Axe about their heads, till the people of the house had hung the third man vpon a beame in the roome. But they hauing lesse cunning in the Hangmans

trade, then will to practise it, tyed not the halter so fast about his necke, as to strangle him : so that after hee had hung an houre, hee was cut downe, reuiued againe, was well, and afterwards was slaine in Russia.

This bloody feast being thus ended, and all stormes as we well hoped, being now blowne ouer to our freedome, and sitting at liberty from our tormentors; on the necke of these former miseries fell a mischief more dangerous to vs then all the rest : for tidings were brought to the Gouvernour, that our Auncient, who trauailed with the Gouvernours two men to the King, had trayterously murdered those his guides, and then ranne away himselfe : vpon this rumour, nothing but thundring and lightning flew from the common peoples mouthes : there was no way now with vs but one, and that one was, to haue all our throats cut, or our heads cleft with their Axes. But the Gouvernour pittying our misfortunes, laboured both by his authority, & by faire speeches, to keepe that many-headed dogge (the multitude) from barking. And in the end, when he saw nothing but the bloud of vs poore Englishmen would satisfie their thirst, because they still held vs in suspition and feare; he most nobly, and like a vertuous Magistrate, pawned to the inhumane Rascals (to my knowledge) his honour, all that euer he was worth, yea, his very life vnto them, that

within three dayes the messengers sent to the King, should returne home, and that during those three dayes we should be of good behauiour to the Ilanders: and besides that, if they did not returne in such a time, that then he would deliuer vs vp into their hands. Our Auncient with the Gouvernours two men, came home vpon the third day, to the Gouvernours house, and brought from the King of Denmarke his licence, to carry vs not onely through the Country, but commanding that we should be allowed shipping also at conuenient place, to carry vs to Sweeland, whither we were to goe: And according to this Licence the Gouvernour caused vs to be called all together the very next day; at which time, Thomas Griffin the Welch Iudas, who had all this while lyen feasting in the house of the Lord Gouvernour, began to tremble and repent him of his villanie, begging most base forgiuenesse on his knees, both from the Gouvernour, and vs his Countrimen and fellow Souldiours, protesting that what he did, came out of his feare to saue his owne life. But our Officers (vpon hearing him speake thus, had much adoe to keepe the companies from pulling downe the house where Griffin lay, because they would in that rage haue hewed the villaine in peeces,

But leauing him and all such betrayers of mens bloud to the hell of their owne consciences,

let vs set forward out of this infortunate Iland, and not stay in any place else, till in small Boates wee come by water to Elzinore in Denmarke, where wee ioyfully got aboard once more; and are hoysing vp sailes for Sweueland. Yet euen in this sun-shine day a storme fals vpon vs too : for our Officers not hauing sufficient money to furnish vs with victuals, wee were enforced to pawne our Auncient and Leiutenant Walton, for the safe returne of the Shippe, with condition, that they should not be released vntill a sufficient summe of money was sent to defray all charges. So that we left our Officers behinde vs; but the King of Sweueland did afterwards release them, and then they came to vs. But before their coming, wee hauing a good winde, landed at a place called Newleas in Sweue : and from thence were carried to Stockholme (the Kings seate) and there was the King at the same time; betweene which two places, it was a daies march on horsebacke.

Vpon this our arriuell at Stockholme, wee met with the rest that had gone before vs, and with diuers others of our Countrimen, that came out of the Low-countries, as before is related. In this place we lay so long, and had such poore meanes, that wanting money to buy foode, wee wanted foode to maintaine life, and so a number of vs were readie to starue : till in the end, our miseries making vs desperate,

we fell together by the eares with the Burgers of the Towne: in which scrambling confusion and mutinie, euery man got one thing or other, of which he made present money to relieue his body withall: yet lay wee at the walles of the Citie, crying out continually for money, money, till our throates grew hoarse with bauling, but the stones of the walles gaue more comfort to vs, then the Inhabitants. One day (aboue all the rest) wee heard, that the King was to ride a Hunting; and wee imagining that all the abuses, wrongs, and miseries, which wee endured, proceeded from some vnder-hand hard dealing, and packing of our Captaines and Officers, resolved to gather about the King at his coming forth, and to cry out for money: but the King being angry (as wee supposed) came riding amongst vs, drawing his Pistoll from the Saddle-bow, as if he purposed to haue shot some of vs: but seeing none of vs to shrink from him, nor to be dismayed, hee rode backe againe, wee following him, and desiring, hee would either giue vs money, or else to kill vs out-right; one amongst the rest (whose name was William Attane) spake to the King aloud, thus: *I hold it honour to dye by the hands of a King, but basly to starue to death, I will neuer suffer it.* Vpon these our clamours, the King looking better vpon our necessities, sent money the next day, and immediately after gaue vs a moneths meanes in money,

and two moneths meanes in cloath, to make vs apparrell.

Of the cloath we receiued some part, but the money being payed, was by our Captaines sent into England to their wiues; no part of it euer comming to the poore common Souldiours hands : for presently vpon this, wee were commanded aboard the Ships, with promise that when wee were aboard, wee should haue our money. But being in the Shippes vnder hatches, away were wee carried with prouision onely of one moneths victuals; when by reason of the weather, wee were forced to lye eight weekes at Sea : in all which time, wee had nothing but pickelled Herrings, and salt Stremlings, with some small quantitie of hard dried meates : by which ill dyet, many of our men fell sicke, and dyed. In the Shippe wherein I was, wee liued fourteene dayes without bread, all our best foode being salt Herrings, which wee were glad to eate raw; the best of vs all hauing no better sustenance.

At the last, it pleased God to send vs to a place called Vfrasound in Fynland, where wee landed, (Fynland being subiect to the King of Sweueland,) From Vfrasound wee were to goe to Weyborough, a chiefe Towne in the Countrie of Fynland : where wee no sooner arriued, but our Souldiors ranne some one way, and some another, so long that the Captaines were left alone with the Shippes : This running away of

them, being done onely to seeke foode, so great was their hunger.

By this carelesse dispersing themselues, they lost the command of the whole Countrey, which they might easily haue had, if they had beene vnited together : and not onely were deprived of that benefit, but of Horses also, which were allowed by the King for them to ride vpon. So that, what by the reason of the tedious Iourney (which wee were to trauell, being four-score leagues) and what by reason of the extreame cold, being a moneth before Christmas, at which time the Snow fell, and neuer went off the ground vntill Whitsontide following; but all the Raine and all the Snow that fell, freezing continually, diuers of our men were starued to death with the Frost. Some lost their fingers, some their toes, some their noses, many their liues : inso-much, that when wee all met at Weyborough, wee could make no more but one thousand and foure hundred able men; and yet when we were landed at Vfrasound, wee were two thousand strong; the extremity of the cold Countrey hauing killed so many of our Souldiours in so little time.

At our landing at Weyborough wee had good hopes to receiue better comforts, both of money and victuals : for the Inhabitants told vs, the King had allowed it vs, and in that report they spake truth : yet contrary to our expectation,

wee lay there about fourteene days, and had nothing but a little Rice, of which we made bread, and a little butter, which was our best reliefe. Drinke had we none, nor money: our Captaines gaue vs certain letherne pelches, onely made of Sheeps skins, to keepe vs from the cold.

At this place we receiued armes to defend vs against the enemy, and six Companies that were allowed by the King for Horsemen, receiued Horses there. From thence wee were to march into Russia, where our enemies continued. But the iourney was long and vncomfortable: for wee marched from Newyeares day vntill Whitsontide, continually in Snow, hauing no rest, but onely a little in the nights. So that the miseries and misfortunes which were endured vpon the borders of Fynland, were almost insufferable, by reason the number of them seemed infinite. For all the people had forsaken their houses long before wee came, because they were euermore oppressed by Souldiours: by which meanes we could get neither meate nor drinke, but were glad to hunt Cats, and to kill them, or any beasts wee could lay hold on, and this wee baked, and made them serue for daily sustenance. The greatest calamitie of all was, wee could get no Water to drinke, it had been so long frozen vp, and the Snow so deepe, that it was hard to say, whether wee marched ouer Water, or vpon Land. So that wee were com-

pelled to digge vp Snow, and with stones redde hot, to melt in tubbes, and then to drinke it.

This affection continued about twelue or fourteene dayes, till we came into Russia. Vpon our very first entrance into which Kingdome, we marched ouer an arme of the Sea, that was eight leagues ouer, many of vs staruing to death in that passage, by the cold freezing windes that blew the same day. In which frosty iourney, I saw so much bread as a man might buy for twelue pence, sold away in little bits, for the value of fortie shillings. But this misery ended the next day, at our setting foot into Russia, where we found plenty both of corne and cattle; onely the people of the Countrey ranne away, leauing all their goods behinde them, but so cunningly hidden, that the best pollicie of ours could hardly finde them out. By this meanes of the peoples running away, we were glad to play the Millers, and to grinde all our corne our selues, to bake our bread, and to dresse our owne victuals. Then marched wee vp to Nouogrod (a chiefe Citie in Russia) where wee were to receiue all our meanes that rested behinde vn timer: but our Captaines beguiled vs, and kept it for themselues: yet to stoppe our mouthes, they told vs wee should goe into Muscovy, and there all reckonings should be made euen.

Wee had scarce marched aboue three dayes

towards Muscovy, but that newes came, how a certaine number of our enemies lay in a sconce by the way; the strength of them was not perfectly knowne, but it was thought they were not aboue seuen hundred, and that we must vse some stratagem to expell them from thence; vpon which relation, our Captaines drew forth to the number of three hundred English horsemen, and two hundred French horsemen; so that in all we were about fiue hundred that were appointed to set vpon the supposed seuen hundred Polanders, (our enemies) that so lay insconsed: vpon whom we went. Our chiefe Commander in that seruice was Monsier la Veile, a French man, who so valiantly led vs on, that the enemy hearing of our comming, fled ouer a water that was by the sconce; yet not with such speede, but that wee slue to the number of foure hundred of their side, and lost onely three men of our owne: but we tooke the sconce. About the sconce stood a faire Towne called Arioua, with a riuer called the Volga, running through the middle, but no bridge ouer it; onely a few Boates and Sloates (made and cut out of trees) were there, to carry the people ouer from the one halfe of the Towne to the other. This sconce furnished vs not onely with great store of riches, but also with a number of Polish Horses; and as many armes as serued to arme fiue hundred men; our want of that

commoditie being as much as of any thing besides : for of those five hundred men that went vpon the seruice, there were not three hundred fixed armes ; yet through the hand of him that deales victories, or ouerthrowes, as it pleaseth him best, the day was ours.

Ouer this riuer Volga the enemies were neuer driuen before, either by the Emperor of Russia, or by the King of Swethland : for which cause (as afterward wee heard) the next day when they departed from the other side of the Riuer, they burnt that halfe of the Towne on which side they were themselues, and in most bloudy, barbarous, and cruell manner, made hauocke both of men, women and children, albeit (not aboue halfe a yeare before) the Inhabitants on that side had reuolted from their owne Emperour, and turned to them. In which tyrannicall vprore, their custome was, to fill a house full of people, and then (the doores being locked vpon them, that none might issue forth) the house was fired about their eares : and oftentimes were young children taken by the heeles, and cast into the midst of the flames : This inhumane tyrannie being practised not onely by the Poles, that were our enemies, but euen by those Russes that were traitors to their owne Emperour, and serued vnder the Poles, and were called Cossakes, whose cruelty farre exceeded the Polish.

The Towne being thus burnt to the earth, all the sixe thousand (which as I said before, fled ouer the Riuer, out of the sconce, and were by vs supposed to be but seuen hundred) came downe in full battalion to the Riuers side with such fiercenesse, as if presently they and their horses would haue sworn ouer, to fight with vs, which being perceiued, our poore five hundred stood ready to resist them. But whether they feared our numbers to be greater than they were, and that wee had some other secret forces, I know not: but away they marched, the selfe same day in which they came downe in that brauery, not doing any thing: of which, wee for our parts, were not much sorry; because if the battailes had ioyned, wee knew our selues farre vnable to withstand them. And this was the seruice of the most noate, that wee went vpon.

Two or three other sconces and Townes we tooke from our enemies, they not once daring to resist vs, because they knew nothing of our numbers and force. But the dishonest dealings of our Captaines, made the whole Armie discontent: insomuch, that our Souldiors would oftentimes deny to goe forth vpon seruice, because they had beene almost a yeare in the Land, and had receiued no more but one Rubble (amounting to the value of ten shillins English). So that vpon these discontents, fiftie of our men

ranne away to the enemy at one time, and discovered to them our strength. After which, we durst not be so bold as before we had beene. The fire of a new conspiracie was likewise kindling, but it was perceiued, and quenched with the bloud of the conspirators, of which, the chiefe were hanged. On therefore we went; when we came within fortie leagues of Muscouie, newes was brought, that the enemy had beleaguard seuen thousand Russes that were our friends, and that vnlesse wee forced the siedge to breake vp, the seuen thousand Russes would euery man be starued where they lay. This sad report, (albeit we had resolued neuer to goe vpon any more seruice, vntill wee had our pay), so wrought in our hearts, that wee much pitied the miseries of others, because wee our selues had tasted of the like.

Our Generall (whose name was Euerborne) was a Fynlander, and with a company of Fynland blades (as they tearme them) well appointed on Horsebacke, was by the King of Sweueland, sent after vs, as our Conuoy, vntill wee should come to Pontus le Guard, who was chiefe Generall ouer the whole armie of strangers that came into the Land: so that according as he was sent and charged by the King, hee ouertooke vs before we came to Arioua. By the intreatie therefore of this Fynlander, and the flattering promises of our owne Captaines, we were con-

tented to goe vpon this seruice, and to deliuer the Russes, or to dye our selues in the action. Yet with condition, that (as they promised to vs) we should by the way meete our chiefe General, Pontus le Guard, who with certaine numbers of English, French and Dutch (which the yeare before were come into the Land) was vpon a march out of Muscovy, not onely to meete vs, but to ioine with vs, and pay vs all our money which remained good to vs; provided likewise, that so soone as euer wee should release the seuen thousand Russes, our money should be payed downe. On these conditions (I say) wee yeelded to goe vpon the businesse.

At length Pontus le Guard met vs (according to the promise) and with him was money brought to pay vs, and his word giuen that presently wee should receiue it. But the lamentable estate, in which the poore besieged Russes were (within the sconce) being at the point of death for want of foode, required rather speedy execution, then deliberation: so that the necessities of their hard fortunes crauing haste, on wee went, hauing about nineteene or twenty thousand Russes, that were people of the same Countrey, ioyned to our Armie, to aide them in this enterprize. But as we all were vpon a march, the enemy hauing receiued intelligence of our approaching, set forward, to the number of eight thousand Lanciers and more, to inter-

cept vs by the way : and being within one dayes march of the place to which wee were likewise going, they set fire vpon three or foure Villages hard by the place where we lay at Grasse with our Horses, for a token that they were comming. And this was done vpon Midsummer day last in the morning, by break of day. Then came they thundring wich shouts and cries to set vpon vs : but no sooner was the Alarum giuen, when the greatest part of those nineteene or twenty thousand Russes, that were ioyned to vs as our aide, fled most basely before any blow was giuen. This sudden cowardize of theirs somewhat amazed vs : but the houre being now come, wherein we were not to talke of dangers, but to goe meete them, with our sixe companies of English horse, we brauely resisted the Polanders, and with great hurt to them, but with little losse vpon our part, charged them three seuerall times.

At last Pontus le Guard (our chiefe Generall) tooke his heeles and fled too, leauing vs vtterly destitute of all direction which much astonished vs, as not well vnderstanding what to doe : for our greatest strength (being by their flight) taken from vs, none but wee strangers were left in the field, and of vs there was not in all, aboue two thousand, and of that number there were aboue six hundred French horsemen, who seeing both the Generall gone, and the Russes

fled, turned their backs vpon vs, and ranne away too most valiantly, yet not out of the field, but to the enemy.

Then were wee not aboue twelue or fourteene hundred at the most left to resist eight thousand at the least: vpon whom notwithstanding, our six companies of English horsemen, charged three seuerall times, without any great losse, but with much honor: And at the fourth time, for want of powers to second them (which the French should haue done) all our six companies were scattered and ouerthrowne with the losse of few of our colours. The Captaines ouer these six Companies of Horse, were these:

Captaine *Crale*, of whose company I was. Captaine *Kendricke*, Captaine *Benson*, Captaine *Carre*, Captaine *Colbron*, Captaine *Creyton*.

Which six Captaines had not in all their companies aboue fiue hundred men. In this battaile, Captaine *Creyton* was slaine in the field; Captaine *Crale* was shot in the knee, and within a short time after dyed of that wound; not aboue twelue of his companie escaping. Captaine *Kendrick* was wounded in diuers places of the head, and dyed. Captaine *Benson* was shot in the hand, and wounded in the head, and yet escaped, and liued: onely Captaine *Carre* and his Cornet escaped, but all his companie scattered and lost. Diuers other Officers were slaine, whose names I cannot remember.

Thus were all our English horse-men dispersed and ouerthrowne, to the number of fīue hundred and vpwards. Our Generall Euerborne with his companies of Finland, or Finsoo blades, were also put to retrait : so that there was not left in the field aboue sixe or seuen hundred, which were foot-men. And of these, one halfe was English, one halfe Dutch, who kept onely a certaine place by a wood side, barricadoed about with wagons, hauing with them foure field pieces, with which they did great spoile to the Enemie. But their number being but few, neither durst they venture on the Enemie, nor durst the Enemie enter vpon them, but kept them still (as it were besieged) in that place onely, because they could no wayes escape. The inconuenience of which cooping vp in so narrow a roome, being looked into, and the dangers on euery side well considered, it was held fittest for safetie, to summon the Enemie to a parley. In which parley, the Enemie offered, that if they would yeeld, and fall to their sides, they should haue good quarter kept. And if any man had desire to goe for his owne Countrie, hee should haue libertie to goe with a Pasport from the King of Poland. Or if any would serue the King of Poland, hee should haue the allowance of very good meanes duly paid him. Vpon these compositions they all yeelded, and went to the Enemie; onely Captaine Yorke and his Officers,

with some few of their Souldiers, went backe into the Countrie, and came not to the Enemie, as the rest had done : who from thence marched vp to the Polish Leaguer, being ten miles distant from the place, and there they continued. But such as desired to trauell to their owne Countries, were sent to the King of Polands Leaguer, which lay at that time at a place called Smolensko, and there accordingly had their Passe, to the number of one hundred, of which number I my selfe was one. What became of the rest I know not : but I with fīue more held together in trauell, vntill we came to Dantzicke, a great Towne in Prussia, being distant from Smolensko one hundred leagues.

To make an end of this Storie of the Foxe and the Beare, the pretending Demetrius and contending Suiskey ; it is reported, that Demetrius seeing these perplexities of Suiskey, raysed a great Armie of such Russes as voluntarily¹ fell to him (the Pole hauing now reiected him, except some Voluntaries) and againe laid siege to Mosco ; Zolkiewsky for Sigismund, beleagred another part thereof with fortie thousand men, whereof one thousand and fīue hundred were English, Scottish, and French. Suiskey seeing no hope to withstand them, his Empire renouncing him, hee would seeme to renounce the Empire first, betaking himselfe to a Monasterie.

¹ Some say he had 100,000, which is scarcely credible.

But not the sanctitie of the place, nor sacred name of an Emperour might protect or secure him. The Muscouites yeelded vp their Citie and his Person to the Pole, and the Castle was manned for Sigismund. All ioyne against Demetrius, who betaketh him to his heeles, and by a Tartar (as before is said) was slaine in his campe. Charles King of Sweden dyed Octob. 30. 1611. and Gustauus his sonne succeeded. Sigismund obtayneth Smolensko also after two yeeres siege and more, in which time the Defendants had held out so resolutely, that the Polish Peeres and States (which in that Kingdom beare great sway) had called the King to their Parliament, the rather in regard of the King of Denmarke warring vpon Sweden (in which warre diuers thousands of our English voluntaries assisted the Dane) but he first desiring to trie his fortune, carried the Citie with two hundred pieces of Ordnance and other rich spoile. Many were slaine, and diuers great persons taken, of which was the Archbishop. Many were blowne vp (as was thought) by their owne voluntarie act, by fire cast into the store-house, in which is said to haue beene (if our Author mistake not) fifteene thousand vessels of poulder : whereupon seemed to returne the very Chaos, or instead thereof a Hell into the World. It is accounted one of the strongest Forts in Christendome, the walls able to beare two Carts meeting in the

breadth. It was taken the twelfth of Iuly, 1610.

Suiskey was carried into Poland and there imprisoned in Waringborough Castle, and after the loss of libertie and his Empire, exposed to scorne and manifold miseries, hee dyed in a forraine countrie. But before that Tragedie, the Poles are said to haue more then acted others. For when they held him prisoner before his departure from Moscouia, they sent for many Grandes in Suiskeys name, as if he had much desired to see them before his fatall farewell, to take a friendly and honourable leaue of them. They come, are entertayned, and in a priuate place knocked on the head and throwne into the Riuer: and thus was most of the chiefe remayning Nobilitie destroyed. The Poles fortified two of the Forts at Mosco, and burnt two others, as not able to man them. But the Muscouite also there held them besieged till famine forced them to yeeld: the Russians finding there sixtie barrells of pouldred mans flesh (it seemeth of such as had dyed or were slaine, that their death might giue life to the Suruiuers) a iust, but miserable and tragicall spectacle.

IX

NARRATIVE OF AN ENGLISHMAN WHO WAS WITH THE POLES WHEN BESIEGED IN MOSCOW

The events which had so rapidly and dramatically developed, ended miserably for Shuiski, for after a brief reign of four years the Boyars conspired against the Usurper and sent him as a captive to the King of Poland.

In the hope that King Sigismund would cease from warring against Russia were his own son her Ruler, the most powerful party of Boyars invited Prince Vladislav (Uladislaus) to reign over them. Their intentions were, however, frustrated owing to the refusal of the Patriarch of Russia to bless a Roman Catholic Prince. A deadlock was reached till a national rising broke out, and led by patriotic leaders a Russian National Army besieged Moscow, then held by the Poles whom famine compelled to surrender.

The British eyewitness, whose report of this siege is appended, was for 22 months within the besieged Kremlin. His *Brief Historical Relations*, which gives an entertainingly inaccurate résumé of the preceding reigns, had, however, to be greatly curtailed, as J. F. filled many pages with matter irrelevant to Russian events.

His report brings us to the close of the "Troublous Times," which came to an end with the election to the throne of the young Mikhail Romanoff, the first of that Dynasty.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL
RELATION
OF THE EMPIRE OF
RUSSIA

AND
OF ITS ORIGINAL GROWTH
OUT OF
24 GREAT DUKEDOMES,
INTO
ONE ENTIRE EMPIRE

Since the year 1514.

Humbly presented to the view and serious perusal of
all true-hearted English-men, that love and
honour the peace and happiness of this their
native Country.

By J. F.

London, Printed by J. F. for William La(?)ar, at the
Blackmoors head near Fleet-bridge. 1654.

READER,

The clear Fountain of pure Justice, Judgement, and Mercy, springing forth in its clear and free current, to all degrees of men without respect of persons, is that which truly advances a Nation, brings glory to God, peace to the mindes of a distempered people, and true honour and safety to the Supreme Ruler, who thereby becomes embraced by all in the arms of Love, and born upon their hands of Safety, and most freely on all occasions supplied with their gifts of bounty.

The impartial observation and administration of this, by BORICE the Elected Emperour of Russia, made him so famous, and ingraved him so deep in the hearty affection of all the people, as that they accounted themselves more happie and safe in him, then in him or them whose right by birth at that time the Empire was; as in the following Story will appear.

It was the impregnable Staff of Justice and Mercie, by which like a Shepherd he led the people, and by which, like a most valiant Champion, he quell'd and beat down to the ground all his enemies, and all that ever dared in the least to oppose or appear against him. It was That, that became a Wall of Peace and safety to him, and an unexpressible happiness to that Nation, during the whole time of his happie Reign.

This happiness from my soul I wish and desire may ever attend him, whom God hath at present

placed over us, and by whom, as by a second Joshua, the Lord hath done great things, and hath brought mighty things to pass for us; yea, such, as all our Chronicles, and all the stories of Europe and Asia cannot parallel.

For which select Instrument, duty binds us to return glory and praise to God, and to beg that the Lord in mercy to this Nation would keep his heart close to himself, causing him to walk close to the Lord by the impartial Rules of Justice, Judgement, and Mercy : knowing in some measure, by his own expressions, that it is the desire of his soul so to do; even to walk close with the Lord, and humbly with his God. . . .

For it cannot enter into my heart to think or believe, that ever his Highness, for whom the Lord hath done so great things, (and if this be not enough, will yet do greater things) should so far dishonour God, and himself, and all that have taken part with him, (by putting their hand unto the Work) as to suffer these Norman evils to continue; or that ever he should fall off from the pious Rules of Justice, Charity and Love, so far, as to slight those his friends, who have ever been faithful to him, and this their native Country, and have suffered for him. Surely, Grace and Goodness teacheth him, who is in mercy sanctified therewith, far better things; and will enable him to bring this to pass, and much more, manage all his and this Nations enemies. Therefore

let us not resist, lest we be found fighting against God; and let him but keep close unto the Lord his God, and then go on and prosper. I say as I said long before, Go on, and prosper.

Now the God of all grace, mercy, and peace, who hath bound up his life in the bundle of his grace, sanctifie him thorowout by his holy Spirit, perfect his work by him, and by him make bare the arm of his mighty power for us, against all the potent enemies of this Nation, who threaten his and our destruction, and this Nation's ruine; and cause his Highness still to be the Lord's powerful victorious threshing-instrument upon his and this Nations enemies, as also the Lords happie instrument of justice and mercy to the people of God, and to all the poor, distressed, oppressed, and enslaved; to the widow, the fatherless, and strangers, in this Land; that so his fame may ring thorowout the world, and his name become as a sweet odour in the nostrils of all men.

All which are, and ever shall be, the constant addresses to the throne of grace in that behalf, for him, and the most hearty desires of

His Highness and this Commonwealths most
humble and faithful servant in the Lord,
during life,

J. F.

Most honourable, and Truly honored,
and Beloved in the Lord Jesus :

The Lord having caused me, in the days of this my Pilgrimage, even from my youth up, to taste both of sweet and bitter waters, to partake in forraign and domestick Princes Courts, abundance of Prosperity, and in my own Country the like measure of bitter Adversity, for these fourteen or fifteen yeers past.

In which my days of travel, and residence at home some part of the Raign of the two late Kings of *England*, I was diligent to note and observe the most remarkable passages presenting themselves to my Genius, and in special some, which happened in the vast and potent Empire of *Russia* (to some of which passages I was an eye-witness).

Of which, as also of the original rise and growth of those people of Russia to one entire Empire, I have been often, for many yeers past, by many sollicitd to make some brief description or relation. In answer therefore now to their earnest desires, and according to my best intelligence, I have adventured to set pen to paper, for their further satisfaction, in brief, as followeth.

The people now called *Russians*, or *Moscovites*, are said to be originally descended from the

ancient *Scythians* ; and those of them now called *Belorusians*, are said to be descended from the *Ruthenians*, whose chief City then was *Nava-gradia* ; and the *Ruthenians* principal City was then called *Wolodeemer* ; who upon the incursions made by *Tamerlain* the great Cham of the *Tartarians* into those several parts, many thousands of them were scattered or sown abroad into the remotest parts, and coldest climates of that vast Continent, and thereupon intituled themselves *Ros-seyans*, which signifieth, A people sown abroad upon the face of the earth.

The people, in process of time, divided themselves into four and twenty several Dukedoms ; and so continued, until the year 1514.

At which time, *John Bazilious Chercaskee*, the then-Duke of *Volodeemer*, most subtilly contrived and raised a discord amongst all the Dukes of *Russia* ; by means whereof, they having weakened and destroyed one another, the said *John Bazilious* within very few yeers gained the Conquest of them all, together with the Kingdoms of *Cazan*, *Astrachan*, *Chorelia*, and *Siberia* ; and uniting them into one entire Empire, he was in the year 1524 declared and crowned Emperour of *Russia*, placing his Imperial Throne in the City of *Mosco*, the then-chief City of the Dukedom of *Moscovia* ; where it remaineth to this day.

In his days, the Cham of the grim *Tartars*

invaded *Russia* with an Army of Four hundred thousand men, besieged the Imperial City of Mosco some three months, burnt and spoiled all the Country many hundred miles in compass; and upon his departure, he required Homage of the Emperour; which was, That the Emperour of *Russia* should come forth of the City of *Mosco* on foot, attended by his Princes and Nobles of *Russia*, bare-headed; and that the Emperour should then bring Oats in his Cap, and present them to the Cham of *Tartary* his horse (he himself then sitting upon his horse-back), and to feed the horse out of his Cap: All which, for the saving of the lives of many thousands of his people, and utter devastation of his Empire, the Emperour performed, feeding the great Cham of *Tartary's* horse with Oats out of his own Cap, or Colpack.

This Homage being performed, the Cham of *Tartary* stroaked the Emperour of *Russia* three times on the face and beard, presented him with a Cymiter, and a Bowe and Case of Arrows, and so departed, carrying many thousands captive.

This *John Basilious* the Emperour, towards his latter days, grew a mighty Tyrant, delighting much in blood, causing many of his Nobles (on the least occasion) to run themselves upon their own swords, to be thrown alive unto Bears, Wolves, and Lions: some he caused (both men and women) to be tyed to spits, and rosted alive,

till they died; some to be torn asunder by horses : and many other unexpressible inhumane cruelties were by him practised; who, after he had (like a second *Herod*) reigned 35 years (being very aged), he died of a Dropsie; at which time there was a Note of the names of seventeen persons under his pillow appointed to die.

*A note found
of 17 persons
by him
appointed
for death.*

To him succeeded his son *Theodor*, who being of a shallow capacity, and from his youth addicted to blinde devotion, and ringing of bells, did thereby neglect the great affairs of the Empire, whereby the people, though acquitted from his father the Tyrant, yet their burdens of Contention and Oppression by his folly increased. They then, by and upon their humble Petition to the Emperour, and by his consent and permission, chose the then-Lord General of the Imperial Army (*Borice Feodorowick Godoonove*), Lord Protector of the Empire; who (though illiterate) was a man endowed with many excellent natural parts, being of a deep judgement, a strong memory, and of a discerning spirit, endowed with much sageness; being also a great lover of Justice : the last of these, crowned all the rest of his vertues, raising him high in the hearty affections of the people, so that to this day his fame rings thorow all that vast Empire (like that of Queen *Elizabeth* in this Nation).

By him were all their exorbitant abuses of

their Law regulated, and brought to their pristine condition : all the Provincial Vayvodes and Chancellors were (for acts of injustice and oppression) severely punished in their persons, and by their estates compelled to yeeld satis-

Note this well.

faction to all parties by them wronged by false Judgement. The long-usurped power of all the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Priests and Friars, in Secular affairs, quite extinguished. Any by fear and terrour of punishment without respect of persons, Justice in its purity was compelled from the corruptest persons in Authority; which forced also the greatest refractory persons formerly in power, to vail and crouch before the Lord Protector, seeing the peoples affections thereby become as a wall of brass for his safety and preservation from their secret plottings of his destruction (by shooting their secret arrows of detraction abroad, to his defamation), for which, many of them, not long after, by his impartial hand of Justice were made exemplary.

Thus, after the Emperour *Theodor* had possessed the Imperial Diademe 15 yeers, he died in the Imperial Palace at *Mosco*, 1566. At which time, the Lord Protector *Borice* retiring to the Maiden Monastery, seemed to resolve the leading of a Monastick life, and to wave the Government of that great Empire; which occasioned his secret enemies (though before, seeming friends) to display their Banners of reviling speeches

against him, endeavouring both by themselves and their instruments to render him odious to the people. Yea, many of his own servants appeared then in their colours; which afterwards caused many of their heads to cleave to the block.

For, the Souldiery, over whom he still remained as Lord General during the time of his Protectorship, and the Commonalty (whose affections he had gained by acts of Justice and Mercy, exercised by him without fear or flattery) did all unanimously make their repair to him to the said Maiden Monastery, and there openly declaring his Paternal care, and prudential disposing of the affairs of that vast Empire, with all the several conquered parts thereof, in the days of their late Emperour *Theodor Evano-wiche*, did press upon him the acceptance of the Imperial Diademe. Upon whose acceptation, they forthwith declared him for their Emperour: and soon after his repair to the Imperial Palace, he was with very great magnificence and acclamation of the people, crowned Emperour of *Russia*; being a Gentleman of an humble spirit, constant in his resolutions, and carried always an open ear to the complaints of all poor and oppressed persons, doing them speedy justice. His custom was to sit three days in the forenoons with his Privie Council, and in the afternoons to hear and answer Petitions; causing his

Orders and References always to be drawn up in his own presence; punishing all Chancellors and other Officers for their corrupt and partial dealing, and for the slighting of his Decrees, and falsifying of his Orders and References.

He also called all the Provincial Judges and Chancellors to a strict account yearly, and most impartially heard all mens complaints against them: and such as were found corrupt and faulty, he punished severely in their persons, and by their estates compelled them to give full satisfaction to all persons by them wronged in Judgement, or anyways oppressed or defrauded.

He carried also a vigilant eye over all the Lords of his Privie Council; so that none of them durst tread out of the path of Impartial justice, either for reward, favour or affection, to any of their nearest allies, or dearest friends.

He also ordered the determination of all Controversies and Suits in Law to be within 40 days; and the charges of a Suit in Law not to exceed a *Greevna*, which is 12d. English: viz. 4d. for the Citation, 4d. for the Warrant, and 4d. for a copie of the Decretal Order.

And for any one that had commenced a false and vexatious Suit against any, he was to pay treble damages, and to suffer the like punishment which he intended thereby to have inflicted upon the person by him unjustly troubled.

*Pure
Justice.*

O what happiness, what peace, what concord, would such a course of Justice produce here in England !

And for the sale of houses and lands of Inheritance, he ordained a book to be kept in every Province, called, *The everlasting book* (or, as here in *England* it was called formerly, when the practice of the Law ran in its pure current, *The Dooms-day-book*), which is there continued to this present. By which means, all vexatious Suits, unjust Claims, and all Frauds, are prevented. The people there, cannot mortgage nor sell their Lands, Houses, nor Leases, two or three times over, to several persons ; as usually here in *England* : nor is any there cheated of their Patrimonies, nor constrained to sell or mortgage their lands or goods, or both, to maintain a long and tedious Suit in Law, by giving content to their insatiable Cormorant-Lawyers, Attorneys, Sollicitors, as we do here in *England* ; where the recovery of a debt of 20*l.* hath cost some men above 200*l.* in Law. Yea, some thousands of families have been ruined in defence of their rights, by the present abusive practise of the Law.

Neither have they there (nor in any Country under the whole heavens, but in cruel *England*) any murdering dens and dungeons of cruelty for imprisoning men and women for debt, till they starve and die in prison : (contrary to our

own ancient Statutes yet in force.) See the book intituled, *Liberty vindicated against Slavery*, fol. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. 25 *Edw.* 3. chap. 4. 21 *Edw.* 2. D. 172. 13 *Edw.* 3. B. 153. 8 *Hen.* 4 chap. 18, 20. 34 *Edw.* 1. chap. 4. 23 *Hen.* 6 chap. 10. *Magna Chart.* chap. 35. *Westm.* 1. ch. 26. 3 *Edw.* 1. ch. 26. 25 *Edw.* 3. chap. 4.

Nor is there, any arrested nor imprisoned upon frivolous, false, and vexatious Actions, unjust Orders, Reports and Decrees daily, as they are here in *England*. Nor is there any such Horse-leeches to suck the vital blood of men and women committed to their custody into Gaols and Prisons, as we have here. For all which unexpressible cruelties, doubtless the wrath and vengeance of God will ere long fall heavie upon the Nation, if not remedied, according to the several Vows, Protestations, Declarations, and Manifesto's, made to God and this Nation many yeers since, both by Parliament and Army.

In this most noble, just, and famous Emperours days, the cruel, the mighty, nor the oppressing Miser, durst not wrong nor oppress the poor, the widow, the fatherless, nor the stranger. The Judges and Chancellors durst not step aside out of the strait path of Justice, for money, favour, nor affection: witness that exemplary just Sentence of his passed on the Chancellor of the Province of *Rezane*, who for 100 Robles bribe, (which is 50l.) had most unjustly decreed a

poor widows Land of Inheritance from her : whereof proof being by her made to the Emperour, the Lord Chancellor, was by him degraded, and sentenced to have the like bag of money hang'd about his neck, and to be whipped by the common Hang-man, from the great Chancery-Office to the Market-place, and back to the said Office ; there the money to be melted, and poured down his throat. All which was done accordingly.

O if this pure Justice and Mercy were exercised here in *England*, how unexpressibly would it elevate his Highness in the affections of all the people, and engrave him in their hearts ! whereby he would then become like to the famous Queen *Elizabeth*, who upon any motion abroad from her Palace, had many thousands attending on the high-ways to congratulate her with their loyalty, and loud acclamations sent up to heaven for her Majesties long life, health and prosperity.

In her days there is said to be but one Serjeant at Law, at the Common-Pleas bar, (called, Serjeant *Benlowes*) who was ordained to plead both for the Plaintiff and Defendant ; for which he was to take ten Groats of each party, and no more : and to manifest his impartial dealing to both parties, he was therefore to wear a party-coloured garment, and to have on his head a black Cap of impartial Justice, and under it a white linen Coyf of Innocencie. All which was in the days of King James, turned to Injustice,

Oppression, and Bribery. Serjeants were by him made in abundance; and a Serjeants place was then sold for 800 l. but in the days of the late King, the price of Iniquity was raised to 1500 l. who at one time made thirteen Serjeants at Law.

I will wade no further into this sea of Wickedness, lest some of the old stampe, and long Robe, should finde themselves agrieved; but resolve to return to the matter in hand.

The like punishment was by this famous Emperour most justly inflicted upon the Great Lord Chancellor of Mosco; who for passing an unjust Decree, was degraded and whipped, and had thirty lashes, by the common Hang-man, upon the *Cozoel*, or wooden Gate, before his own Office.

The like was by him inflicted on the Vayvode or Governour of *Vasema*, who for injustice and oppression was also whipped, and his estate decreed to satisfie the persons by him wronged.

I would instance many more the like acts of Justice which flowed from that truely-magnanimous Prince; as also, how the subtil deceitful knot of a number of grand oppressors was by him broken; who by their subtil contrivances, in and by their accustomed corrupt practices, in and by their Law, had enslaved the Nation to their corrupt wills, and ruined thousands of families: But I hope, that little that hath been related, is

sufficient for any to take consideration of, and to make it their own most honourable practical example; to the glory of God, the good of this Nation, and their own eternal honour.

And thus after the poor oppressed man's Patriot, even this famous Emperour, had happily reigned 36 years, he departed this life: whose death was much lamented by all the people for many years: to whom succeeded his son *Theodore*, who being about 17 yeeres old, reigned but six months.

In whose time, one *Demetrius* (who from his youth being brought up in the Free-School of *Warsovia* in *Poland*) gave himself out, and was credibly said to be the son of *John Bazilious* the first Emperour; who having married *Marinca* the eldest daughter of *Sandomerskee*, one of the Electors of *Poland*, was by *Sigismundus* King of *Poland* supplied with 20000 horse; who thereupon entred this great Empire of *Russia* with an Army of 240000 horse, encountered with the Emperours great Host consisting of 50000 horse and 150000 foot, and after four several set Battels, he overthrew this great Imperial Host, marched up to the Imperial City, and after Summons (causing the young Emperour *Theodor* to be strangled) he entred the City; and being forthwith crowned *Caesar*, or Emperour, he possessed the Imperial Diademe 28 months.

He was a Gentleman very comely of person-

age, active of body, and a great Scholar, highly affecting the English, Germane, and Polonian, Nations; being also himself, for his valour and generosity of spirit, greatly beloved of all his victorious Army. But coming to possess the Imperial Throne, and the glory thereof, he gave himself up to all manner of delightful pastimes, referring the management of all State-affairs to his Privie Council: and being wholly led by his chief Secretary *Panne Boochinskee*, he confined his ear to the said *Boochinskee*, and some other few Polonian Flatterers and Parasites about him; receiving also into favour some of the Russian Nobility, and conferring places of Honour and Trust upon them, hoping thereby to win and endear them to himself; who notwithstanding became as stinging Serpents in his bosome and proved the fatal instruments of his ruine.

But that which proved most advantagious to his enemies, and fatal to himself, was, his not admitting any into his presence, (as that famous Emperour *Borice* with all freeness used to do) but such onely as those Parasites and Flatterers pleased to admit, for affection, favor, or reward; stopping his ears against the cries of the poor oppressed Petitioners, he neglected to answer their Petition: whereby, the hearts of the people were exasperated against him. The reins of injustice, tyranny & oppression were let loose to all oppressors; the Lords of his Council

acted by the Rule of their own wills; his Secretary *Boochinskee* became lawless and graceless: none durst prefer a complaint against him.

. . . . Every one of these his Flatterers made hay for themselves, whilst the prosperous sunshine of his Majesties Imperial favour displayed his rayes upon them, without any real affection, or conscientious care in them for his Majesties honour and safety: the fruit whereof proved, not long after, to be the fatal loss of their own lives, and great estates so impiously gained.

For, the irreconcilable old Imperial subtil Nobility, Gentry, Chancellors, and Clergie, having ingratiated themselvs with him, did by their instruments (at a distance incessantly in secret) render the Emperour odious to the people, and guilty of all those grievous burthens of Injustice and Oppression, which by their own unjust complotted practices they had laid upon the people; whereby they most subtilly accomplished their diabolical end, which was, the untimely destruction of his Royal person, by the cruel hands of *Basilius Shuskee*, one of the reconciled Nobility, who not long before, for some treacherous practice, had his head upon the Block; yet the Emperour in his clemencie pardoned him: who not long after, through the intercession of some of the Russian Lords, was made a Privie Councillor, whereby he was the better enabled to compass his resolved barbarous designe, which

was, the cruel destruction of the Emperours person, and of the lives of all his victorious Army, consisting then of 25000 valiant men, being all Polonian, Germane, and Hungarian Horse, who were all of them massacred the same day, and their houses rifled; their wives and children exposed to misery, and very many of them cruelly butchered by the rude multitude within the City of *Mosco* : which inhumane act caused a Sea of blood to have its current thorow many of the streets within the said City.

Thus the glory of this victorious Heroick spirit, was extinguished in one day : and all that truly adhered unto him, suffered with him, both in their estates and lives, about the 20 of *May*, 1604.

Bazilius having thus butchered this gallant Prince, and removed all obstacles, by destroying the Army, he was proclaimed Emperour of *Russia*, (by *Mighayla Scopeene* General of the Russian Army) and speedily after, crowned : who being scarce warm in the Imperial Throne, began forthwith to display the Banner of Tyranny, in restoring the covetous Clergie to their former power and jurisdiction in Secular affairs; and most perfidiously, contrary to his oath and promise made to the people at the time of his election, he loosed the reins of injustice and oppression to all the Vayvodes and Provincial Chancellors, and began to lay great Taxes on the people; and, like *Richard* the third of *England*, beheaded

some who were the primary instruments of placing the Imperial Diademe on his head, causing also *Mighaylo Scopeene* the General of the Imperial Army to be secretly destroyed by poyson. Which acts of his, rendered him odious to all degrees of men, exasperated the spirits of the Nobility against him, and alienated the hearts of all the people from him; and chiefly, for that their grievances were not heard, nor their burthens of oppression taken off, in all the six yeers time of his Reign; which at length emboldened the Nobility and Merchants of the City, with a resolute spirit, to lay hold of him, (wherein a Citizen, one *Theodor Andronave* was a prime actor) who gagged him, bound him fast in a sled, and sent him post prisoner unto *Sigismundus* King of *Poland*, laying to his charge the murdering of their late Emperour *Demetrius*: who being arrived at *Warsovia* in *Poland*, he was ordered to safe custody, where he ended his days most miserably, in the yeer of Christ 1610.

The Nobility and flattering Clergie forthwith proceed in electing *Uladislaus*, the King of *Poland's* eldest son, for their Emperour; who thereupon sent one *Panne Zoltefskee* with 10000 Horse, to take and keep possession for him: upon whose arrival into the Imperial City of *Mosco*, the Citizens made some opposition; but were soon appeased by the Lords of the Council. The Polish General thereupon gained a greater

strength into the City, which caused several tumults; the Lords thereupon caused all the Citizens to be disarmed, and but one hatchet left to every three houses to cleave their wood : which act did mightily enrage the Citizens against the Lords and Polonians.

Zoltefskee well weighing the power of the Citizens, and weakness of his Army to keep possession of so vast a City, did thereupon administer an Oath of Loyalty to all his Souldiery, commanding them on the sixth day of the then-month of *May*, every one at one of the clock in the morning to fire their lodgings, and not to spare man, woman, nor childe : which was done accordingly, and above 130000 persons massacred, besides those that were burnt in their beds and houses.

Thus the buildings of that famous City (said then to be 26 miles in compass) were all turned into ashes in one day, except the three stone-walls environing each other at a very great distance, and the Emperours Palace, with some Monasteries, and other buildings of stone : but the fourth wall, which environed all the rest, together with the suburbs without that wall, reaching above three miles in length, were all burned ; the wall being all of massie timber, and earth.

But the unsavoury fruit of this their bloody Tragedie, was by the just hand of heaven

returned into their own bosomes : for, the Country forthwith raised two mighty Armies under the conduct of the Lord *Troobetsooy* and the Lord *Pazarskee*, who beseiged the Polonians in the City, close on every side, for the space of two yeers; and, through extreme famine, enforced the Polonians to yeeld up that famous Metropolitan City, and therewith the Prince of *Poland's* right to the Empire of *Russia* : so as of 35000 valiant men, there returned not twenty persons into *Poland*. Those few hundreds that yeilded up the City, coming once to plenty of victuals, died with meat in their mouthes, through meer weakness, having not tasted a bit of bread in six months before. In which Seige, a loaf of bread sometimes was sold for a thousand Robles, which is 500 l. sterling.

During the time of this cruel Siege, wherein I continued 22 months, being lodged in the Imperial Palace, several objects of misery presented themselves to my sight and observation, from the besieged; as the eating of the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and all sorts of leather, boyled in ditch-water; which served in stead of Tripes. But that which took most impression of grief upon my spirits, was, to see many Russian Ladies nobly descended, and brave young Gentlewomen, who not long before scorned that the moist earth should have touched the soles of their feet, were now become miserable, constrained to go bare-

footed, and for food to prostrate themselves to every mean persons disposal; yea, when they were discarded by some, I have seen them with tears in their eyes proffer their service to others, and all for a miserable livelihood : which then called to my remembrance this old saying, *Pride must have a fall* : and, *Hunger will break stone-walls*.

But after the famine grew very great, and all women, children, and aged persons turned out of the City, to the Russians, (who received them very courteously, very much condoling their miserable conditions) there followed a very great judgement of God upon the Polonians, (obstinacie and hardness of heart) who all bound themselves by Oath, and receiving the Sacrament upon it, not to yeeld up the City to the Russians, so long as there was a man of them alive : which brought them to that extremity, that they by casting lots (who should die next, to maintain the rest alive) did devour one another, from 3000 to 4000 persons. And at the surrender of the City, divers Commanders of the Russian Army seizing upon sundry large chests, conceiving them to be full of treasure, having them broken up, found in them nothing but the bodies of men slain for food to the living.

Upon the regaining of this Imperial City in 1612, forthwith followed the free election of *Mighaylo Theodorowiche*.

This young Prince, for a time, walked in the path of that Princely myrrour of justice, *Borice* ; under whose Government, (after a few yeers of trouble) the Nation enjoyed Halcyon days of peace and tranquillity, after the cessation of that long intestine War between the Emperors of *Russia* and *Charles* Duke of *Swethland*, and his son *Gustavus* the late King of *Swethland* ; which was accomplished, and the Country of *Scythia* restored to the Russian, by the mediation of King *James*, and the indefatigable restless pains and travel of the truly-honorable sage States-man, Sir *John Merrick*, employed Lord Ambassador there, for that work, for the space of three yeers and eight months ; who accomplished a League offensive and defensive between the two Crowns of *Russia* and *Swethland*, in 1617 which is since ratified, by the now-Emperour *Olexey Michaylowiche*, and the Queen of *Swethland*.

This worthy States-man, Sir *John Merick*, was by King *James* employed upon a second Embassie unto the said Emperour of *Russia*, in the yeer 1621, being accompanied by six Gentlemen of quality, (of whom *Robert Kelloway* Esq ; was first in degree) and by 60 followers all in a rich Livery ; who accomplished his Embassie with content to the King, and very great honour to himself and this Nation. In both which great Embassies, I had the honour to be with him, all the time.

Thus after this peaceable Emperour had reigned 35 yeers, he died; to whom succeeded *Olexey* his son, who being yet of tender yeers, and not knowing the great and weighty causes and motives inducing his Princely predecessors to grant that great Charter of Free-trade unto the English Company of Merchants thorowout that vast Empire, free of Custom, and all other duties, hath (as is supposed) by the aggravation of some Dutch Resident there, deprived the English of that Charter. But now, I hope, upon better information, and apprehension of the constant love of the English to his Majestie and that Nation, and their readiness on all occasions from time to time to serve and supply his predecessors with all necessaries, even in the times of their greatest straits, will be a sufficient motive to him, most honorably and freely to restore unto the English merchants the said Charter of Free-trade, and will thereby manifest his Princely affection to our victorious Chieftain, or *Caesar*, who hitherto hath been the Lords threshing-instrument of terrour to all the potent and raging enemies of this Nation, both by land and sea. All which, the Dutch, as well as others, have been made very sensible of, and of which they above any others can make a most true Narrative, (if they please) to the glory of God, the honour of his Highness, and this nation, and to their own corrective instruction for the future; lest their

insulting pride draw them down by a second Duke *d'Alva* to the gulf of destruction, and enforce them once again to intitle themselves to our *Caesar*, *The poor distressed States of the Netherlands*, as they did in the days of *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, who purchased those United Provinces from the Spaniard, by the inestimable life-blood of more than 100000 English-men, besides Scots and Irish, and the expence of more then two millions of treasure : *Never to be fully satisfied by the worth of all the Netherlands.*

But if any shall be offended at these my foregoing expressions touching our present victorious Chieftain, (or *Caesar*) I shall humbly desire them to look back into the recorded transactions of all the Worthies in former ages, and see if they can (*comparatis comparandis*) balance those many several noble and victorious acts of his, with any of theirs, in the scale of Honour, and true Magnanimity, by him accomplished, in three famous Kingdoms, viz. *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and all within the space of 3 or 4 yeers, without the least foil or repulse at any time by him received from his and this Nation's potent enemies.

Wherein (in my judgement) he surpasses the Romane *Caesars*, the furious *Goths* and *Vandals*, the valiant *Scanderberg* Prince of *Epirath*, the triumphant Godfrey of *Bullein*, and the victorious *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Swethland*, who was

the terrour of *Germany*. And as the Lord is raising him up, hath thus by him brought home peace to every man's door in these three Nations; so I desire and wish from my soul, that with all due thankfulness he and we may return praises to his great and glorious Name for those his rich and abundant mercies by this his select instrument (*Oliverus*) conferred on us; it being the onely true way for the continuation of his showers of mercies on us; and, in stead of kicking against the pricks, to rest satisfied, and wait patiently upon the Lord, and then doubtless the salvation of God will appear: for, *he that believeth, maketh not haste.*

For that sacred Power that hath hitherto by him accomplished mighty things for us, will assuredly perfect his work, even his own great work; so that the enemies of God, and all that hate us, beholding it, shall stand amazed, & shall be enforced to confess and say, that *it is the Lords doing and it is marvelous in their eyes.*

And when once, according to his sundry expressions at several times to that effect, he appears mighty in pulling down the strong holds of Satan, and advancing the thrones of Justice, Judgment, and Mercy, to the glory of God, the good of this Nation, and his own eternal praise, then shall his enemies be abashed, and *England's* enemies confounded; but on him shall the mercies of God flourish. For it is Justice and Mercy

exalts a Nation, and the administration thereof (without respect of persons) is the honour of a Nation, and of him that is the Head of the Nation. Witness those unalterable decrees of the *Medes and Persians* : and *Solomon* tells us, that *the throne is established by justice, and upholden by mercy*, Prov. 20. 28. *For he that ruleth over men must be just*, (honourable, and unalterable in his word and promise) *ruling in the fear of God*, 2 Sam. 23. 3 *And he set judges in the land city by city, and said to the judges, Take heed what ye do for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is present with you in the judgment : for there is no iniquity nor respect of persons with the Lord, nor taking of gifts*, 2 Chron. 19. 5, 6, 7. This undoubtedly was the lesson which our just *Alfred King of England* gave to all the Country-Judges and Chancellors in his days : and this was the charge of that renowned Emperour *Borice* ; and this, I hope, will be the Rule and unalterable Charge of our victorious *Caesar* : And in so doing, he shall assuredly retain the favour of God, the love of the whole Nation, and make his enemies vanish like the smoke. *And so doing, go on and prosper ; the Lord shall give thee thine hearts desire.*

O that the Lord in mercy to this Nation would turn the present tyrannous destructive Norman law of *England* into a law of mercy and preservation to the people thereof ; that so they might

not be thereby, in their estates, rights, liberties, and lives, daily sold, as sheep are in *Smithfield-market*; and by Bayliffs and Serjeants most spitefully daily haled like dogs to several dungeons of misery, from their families and callings, and cruelly destroyed in prisons, their estates by piecemeal torn and rent from them for a trifle, and their wives and children enforced to beg their bread: yea, many poor hang'd for ten or twenty shillings; whilst those that rob this Nation of their estates, liberties, and lives, and that by a Law, escape the halter.

Wherefore my most humble and earnest suit unto his Highness (the Lords threshing-instrument) is, That he would be pleased to take seriously to heart the misery of this Nation. . . .

And do we not see the anger of the Lord kindled against us, by troubles abroad, jealousies at home, and fears on every side? Therefore take away the Cause, (which is, Injustice, Cruelty, and Oppression) and the Effect will cease assuredly. *For when (in these things) a mans ways please the Lord, his very enemies shall be at peace with him.*

If therefore the Lord, in mercy to his Highness and this Nation, be pleased to incline his heart to loose the bands of wickedness, (by abolishing the *Capias*) and to let the oppressed go free; to pull down the thrones of iniquity, and to break every yoke: Then shall his light break forth (to

the Nation) as the morning, and his health shall then spring forth speedily : his righteous acts shall then be his van-guard, and the glory of the Lord (in the power of his might) shall be his rere-guard. For, blessed shall he be that considereth the cause of the poor, (especially those that are of upright heart) the Lord shall deliver him out of his enemies hands, and he shall be blessed upon the earth; yea, his enemies shall be destroyed : but he shall be established in righteousness, and his seed after him; if he despise not the counsel of the poor, whose trust is in the Lord; if he cleave not to the generation of cruel men, but ease this Nation of this cruel Norman bondage and deliver the inslaved for debt out of the several dens of cruelty in this Land, causing speedy justice to have its free current without respect of persons, that so all that are oppressed and defrauded of their estates, lands, or goods, may gain speedy restitution with damage for false imprisonment, or detention of their estates unjustly.

All which once effected, will assuredly appease the wrath of God against these Nations, unite the hearts of all this great people to his Highness, as the heart of one man, and will enable him to go in and out before this great people in the strength of the Lord, and the power of his might, in peace and much safety, maugre all his enemies, and all that strive to disturb his and this Nations peace.

This will assuredly bring glory to God, honour to his Highness, and tranquility to the Nation : it will enforce (as in other Countries) honesty and plain-dealing from all men : and all Petifogging, decietful, subtil, oppressive persons, now shrowded under the Norman Law, will vanish ; and the words *Peace, Quietness, and Industry*, will be written over every mans door.

Such noble acts will revive the memory of *Alfred*, that just king of *England*, who punished and hanged Four and fourty County-Judges in one yeer, for oppressing the people by false Judgement : and of *Edward* the fourth, who caused Fifteen Gaolers to be hanged in one yeer, for exacting money from prisoners, and defrauding them of the King's allowance of 4d. *per diem* : And of *Henry* the fourth, who caused Two and twenty Projectors, and six Aldermen of *London* to be hanged at the then-place of Execution within *London*-walls, and buried under the Gallows ; where since the Church is built, and the place called *Aldermanbury*, to this day.

It was the usual saying of that famous and just Emperour *Borice*, *That Prince or Ruler is most happie and safe, that liveth least to himself, and most to the honour of God, and the peoples good over whom God hath placed him ; and whose legal and just power is the bounds of his will : whose olive-branch of wisdom springeth from his heart, bloometh on his tongue, and beareth fruit in*

his actions ; which will always direct him not to refuse counsel good cheap, lest remiss security cause him to buy repentance too dear.

Thus having (through my real hearty affection, and well-wishes to his Highness well-being, and love to my Countries freedom, peace, and tranquillity) digressed from my intended Historical Subject : and being desirous not to weary the Reader, but to draw to an end, I do again (in the close) become a most humble and earnest suitor to his Highness, . . .

. . . . And this I was told long since, that if his Highness had not appeared so vigorously for me in that, and another business since that, I had neither undergone those calumnies and reproaches, nor had my endeavours proved so fruitless as hitherto they have done to me.

This duely weighed, it cannot but be positively concluded, That although those slanderous and reproachful arrows were shot at the lowe shrub, yet the venome of them was intended to hit the tall Cedar, which by his branches of favour was pleased to shelter the lowe shrub.

For at that very instant time, the better to set a face of credit upon their slanders, and to carry on their designe of defeating me of my right, they by their instruments divulged it abroad in the City, and to divers Parliament-men, that I had forswore my self three times in one day before his Highness and the Councel, and that

they had adjudged me to stand in the Pillory at the Exchange. This was related with such a face of truth, as that divers of my friends were happily deceived, in going to the Exchange to be spectators of it.

Whereas the real truth is, that I was never called before his Highness nor Council to swear at any time, for any matter, cause, or thing, whatsoever: for the truth whereof, I humbly appeal to his Highness and to the honourable Council; most humbly praying for justice on these traducers, and satisfaction for these injuries most wrongfully sustained.

But not resting in the centre of these their calumnies, they or their instruments do still persist by under-hand plottings to accomplish my destruction, and by raising of a lye against me, rob me of my livelyhood: and at the same time, in a most secret manner, spread a rumour in the City, that I should conspire against my Lord Protector's life: A thing so horrid, so detestable to my soul, and so far from the thoughts of my heart, as the Crystalline Sphere can possibly be in distance from the earth.

And this clearly appeareth, by my constancie from the beginning, to the cause of God, faithfulness to his Highness, and services performed for the State.

The first was, my discovery of the late King's intention to surprise *Hull* and *Plymouth*, by

private Letters sent out of *Holland* to Sir *Harbottle Grimston* and Mr. *Samuel Vassel*, then members of Parliament : by means whereof, the Parliament and Nation were preserved from the universal ruine determined, in 1641.

The second was, my discovery of the first Rebellion in *Kent*.

For both which, I never to this day received one peny, as a recompence or reward, from any.

And what my fidelity, and many yeers cruel sufferings, have been, for Parliament and Army, and in especial to his Highness, is well known to thousands in the City and Countries, and manifested by the several Tractares written and printed by me in defence of the Cause, and of his Highness honour; even at that time also, when black-mouth's envious Infamy had opened her mouth wide against him; from which I shall never vary, nor cease to vindicate his honour in the way of God : wishing from my soul, that all men were even as I am; which is so far from acting, wishing, or thinking any hurt to him or his, as that I shall spend my life, and be ready to be spent for him; yea, although he should suffer me to be overwhelmed with sorrow, penury, and the raging power of my slanderous adversaries.

. . . . I cannot but with grief of heart confess that we live in the very last of times, wherein Malice lurketh, Revenge rageth, Cruelty sucketh

the vital blood of the poor, Envie suffereth not the poor to live; Oppression slayeth the needy; the poor is despised of his neighbour, his faithfulness contemned, and his services not regarded, (if he be not armed with the spirit of boldness, impudence, and base flattery) as many are, who have thrived best, and prevailed most, since these distracted times, and have made great gain by the bare profession of Godliness, but of true godliness small gain to themselves, (in the practical part thereof.)

Some such are they, who have troubled me, perplexed me, persecuted me, defrauded me, and endeavoured to destroy me, by lying words. The Lord in mercy forgive them, and give them hearts to walk more answerably to their profession, and preserve his Highness from being deceived and deluded by any such Vipers.

It was the approved wisdome of that famous Emperour *Borice*, Not to trust any reconciled Enemy, nor to intrust them in any place of power, nor to credit any their Blemishes and Odiums in secret cast upon any of approved fidelity to his person.

This Rule produced peace and safety to him, but confusion to his enemies, and to all their *Machavilian* plots and enterprises against him.

On the other hand, Credulity, and Security, and favouring of reconciled enemies, was the destruction of that Heroick spirit *Demetrius* the

Emperour, who by their Flatteries lulling him asleep in their tracherous Cradle of Security, made thereby his Friends appear to him to be his Foes, and themselves (that were his mortal Enemies) to be his onely Friends, by his confining of his ear unto them. . . .

FINIS



[To face page 220.]

THE TSAR VASSILI SHUISKI.

X

VASSILI SHUISKI'S LETTER TO KING JAMES I

SVISKEY . . . his Letter to our King, describing the former DEMETRIVS his Acts and Tragedie.

The Copie of the Translation of a Letter sent from the new Emperour *Vassily Euanowich* Shoskey to the Kings Maiestie by Master *Iohn Mericke*.

The loue and mercie of God that guideth vs in the wayes of peace, we glorifie with the Trinitie.

From the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Vassily Euanowich of all Russia, sole Commander of Voladomer, Moski, Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, of Syberia, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Twer-skoy, Yauharskoy, Pearmskoy, Vatskoy, Bollharskoy, and of other : Lord and great Duke of Nouogroda of the Low Countrey of Cherneego, Rezanskoy, Polotskoy, Rostouskoy, Yereslaue-skoy, Bealozerskoy, Leeflanskoy, Owdorskoy, Obdorskoy, Condinskoy, and Commander of

all the North parts: also Lord of the Land of Eeuerskoy, Cartalinskoy, and ouer the Empire of the Gorrians of the Land of Cabardinskoy, and Eeharskoy Land, likewise of many other Lordships Lord and Commander.

To our beloued Brother Iames King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Wee giue to vnderstand that Sigismund King of Poland, and great Duke of Letto, in Anno 7109, did send vnto the late Emperour Boris, his Embassadour named Lewis Sapeago, being Chancelor of the great Dukedome of Poland, requesting the said Emperour Boris, that the former league and peace made and concluded vpon by the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Theodore Euanowich of all Russia, and him Sigismund King of Poland, might be stedfastly holden and continued till the time of that League were expired. As also that the Emperour Boris would inlarge the said league for thirtie yeeres more, whereupon the Emperour Boris yeilded thus far vnto the request of the King of Poland, that hee would continue the old league till the full time were expired, and assent to a new league for twentie yeeres more; and to that effect he tooke an Oath, to hold and keepe all the contents faithfully, mentioned in the said Writing, touching the same league: and instead of the King of Poland, his Embassadour Lewis Sapeagoe was sworne in the presence of the

Emperour Boris. And after the Polish Embassadour was departed from the Mosko, the Emperour Boris sent vnto Sigismund King of Poland his Embassadour, being one of the Priuie Councell, called Michailo Zleabowich Sallteecoue, with some others to end and finish the aforesaid league, to the which league the King of Poland himselfe was sworne in the presence of the Emperours Embassadour to hold and keepe the said league faithfully, according to the tenour of their Writing.

But not long after Sigismund King of Poland, with one Pauarade, entred into such a practise, as he therein falsified his Oath, and made way to the shedding of much Christian blood: First, by retayning and vpholding one Gryshca Otreapyoue, a Runnagate, a Coniurer, and one that left his profession being a Monke, and ran away out of Russia into Poland; and being come thither, tooke vpon him to be the Son of the great Emperour Euan Vassilawich of famous memorie, and by name Demetry Euanowich when as it was well known in our Kingdome, that before he was shorne a Monke, he was commonly called Yowshco, Son to one Bowghdan Otreapyoue, dwelling at a place called Galitts: and when hee had committed much villanie, to saue his life he shoare himselfe a Frier, and so runne from one Monasterie to another, and lastly, came into a Monasterie called Chowdo,

where he was made one of the Clearkes; being so placed there by the Patriarke of Mosko himselfe: But he did not leaue off his former life; for he continued still in his most Deuillish actions, as he did before he was shorne, committing villany, forsaking God and falling to the studie of the Blacke Arte, and to many such like euils he was inclined. Also there was found by him a Writing which shewed how he was falne from God, and the same was made well knowne to the holy Patriarch of Mosco, and of all Russia, and to the Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, and to all the holy Cleargie: whereupon the said Rulers of our true Christian Faith, which is from the Grecian Law, for these his most vngodly works, consulted to send him to perpetuall Prison there to end his life. Whereupon this notorious Instrument of Satan, perceiuing this his ouerthrow, and that his vile practises were discovered, ran away out of the Kingdome of Mosko, beyond the borders, and into Letto to a place called Keeyeue: thus according to the Devils instructing of him, as one forsaken of God, he made this his doing manifestly known to all people, leauing off his Monks Habit, and withall by the counsell and aduice of our Enemie the Polish King, and one of his Palatines named Sandamersko Yourya, with Duke Constantine, and Duke Veshneuetskoy and his Brethren with

other Polish Lords that were of his Councell, began to call him the Son of the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Euan Vassilywich, by name Prince Demetry of Owglitts.

As also by his villanous treacherie and the Deuills perswading of him, he made much trouble in our Land, by sending abroad many of his intising and prouoking Letters, to diuers places vpon the borders of our Countrey: that is, to a place called Done, and to the Volgoe, to our Cossacks and Souldiers, naming himselfe to be the Prince Demetry of Owglitts. Moreouer, there came to our Kingdome of Mosko many Polish Spies, which brought and dispersed Libels both in Citie and Townes, and in the high-wayes, practising to rayse dissention in the Kingdome of Mosko. Also it is well knowne, not only to them in the Empire of Mosko, but likewise in other Kingdomes, that the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vassilywich of famous memory, had a Sonne called by the name of Prince Demetry, and after his Fathers decease, there was giuen vnto him and his Mother the Citie of Owglitts. But in the yeere 7095. being in the Reigne of the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Theodore Euanowich of all Russia, this foresaid Demetry was murdered by the order and appointment of Boris Godenoue. And at his Funerall was his Mother now called the Empresse Martha, with her owne Brethren by

name Michaila and Greegory, the Sonnes of Theodore Nahouo. Likewise to his burying, there was sent from the Mosko Metropolitanes, and Archimandreets, and Abbots : and the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Theodore Euanowich sent to his Funerall many Nobles and Courtiers of the Land which saw him buried in the chiefest and principall Church of Owglitts. Moreouer Martha the Dutches and Empresse his Mother is yet liuing, and many of her Brothers and Vnckles, which doe at this present time serue vs the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vassily Euanowich, of all Russia sole Commander : Likewise in these last yeeres past, as in Anno 7111. and in Anno 7112. and 7113. concerning that foresaid Traytour and Hereticke, the forsaken of God Gryshca Otreapyoue, many of our Gentlemen, Captaynes and others our Officers did many times write from the North parts of the borders of our Kingdome into Poland and Letto, and to others their inferiour Cities, to the Rulers and Gouvernours of the same ; as also our spirituall people : the Patriarke, the Metropolitans, Archbishops ; and Bishops wrote vnto the spirituall people of Poland, declaring vnto them what that Heretick and Traytor was, likewise from whence he came and what manner of person he was ; as also of his demeanour, and likewise of the occasion why hee runne away to them out of the Land, as

also the manner of the making away of the Prince Demetry, and withall requested the Rulers and Spirituall people of Poland, that they knowing what Runnagate this was, would not giue credit vnto him, nor to make a breach of the late league concluded vpon.

But the Gouvernours of the Dukedome of Poland and Letto, as also the spirituall men, according to the King of Poland his commandment, gaue no credit vnto our writings, but began, more then before to intice and perswade men to vphold the Traitor, and to aide him. Moreouer, to make trouble and dissention in our Land, they tooke this forsaken of God, Greeshca vnto them, and cald him by the name of Prince Demetry of Owglits: likewise the King gaue vnto him a chaine of gold, with many thousand peeces of Polish gold, to the defraying of his charges; as also sent in armes to our borders with one of his Lords, the Palatine Sendamersko, and another of his chieftest Lords, with many troopes of Poles. But when the Emperour Boris vnderstood how that this Gryshca Otreapyoue was called, by the name of Prince Demetry Euanowich of Owglits, and withall, that they did aide and helpe him against the Kingdome of Russisa: he caused his Counsell to send a messenger, as from themselues, to the Polish Lord Panameerada, which Messenger was named Smeernay Otreapyoue, being Vnckle to

the said Gryshca Otreapyoue being the Son of one Iamateen Otrepayou, onely to declare vnto them what this Gryshca was; but that Polish Lord Panameerada would not suffer him, and his Vnckle to be brought face to face. But he made answer to the said Messenger Smeernay, that they did not aide him, neither did they stand for him in any sort.

So after he had sent away the Messenger Smeernay, the King of Poland, and the Lord Panameerada did aide Gryshca Otreapyoue with men and treasure more liberally than before, purposing to make great strife and trouble, and to shed much bloud in the Kingdome of Mosco. Also at the same time Sigismund, King of Poland, requested the aide of one of the Princes of Crim in Tartaria, named Cazateera; and to that end he should aide Gryshca with his forces, against the Kingdome of Mosko; and he in consideration, did promise to giue vnto the foresaid Crim Prince, what hee would demand. Then the Emperour Boris vnderstanding what practises were in hand, being altogether contrary to the league; thereupon purposely he sent to Sigismund King of Poland, another speciall Messenger, one named Posnicke Agareoue; likewise at the same time, the holy Patriarke of Mosco, and all Russia, with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, with all the rest of the holy Clergie, sent their Messengers with Letters to the State

of Poland, and so the great Dukedome of Letto, to the Archbishops, and Bishops, and to all the Spiritualltie. Moreouer, in the said Letters, the Emperour Boris with the Patriarke, and all the holy assembly, wrote vnto the Lord Panameerada concerning Gryshca, making it knowne vnto them what he was, and wherefore he ranne away into Poland, and likewise that the Sonne of the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vassilwich, the Prince Demetry was dead: And to that intent, that the King Sigismund should not giue credit to the said Gryshca, and that they should not spill Christian blood, nor violate the league.

Hereupon Sigismund King of Poland writ vnto the Emperour Boris, and further, by word of mouth, both he and Panameerada deliuered to the said messenger in his message, that hee did hold and keepe their League, and moreouer, did not violate or breake his oath no manner of way: and likewise did write, that he did not ayde that foresaid Gryshca, neither did giue credit vnto him: withall denying that he was with him in his Kingdome: and further he did write, that if there were any out of Poland or Letto that did aide or assist him, that they should be executed. But after he had dispatched away the messenger of Boris, not regarding his oath, still more and more did aide and helpe this Gryshca Otreapyoue. Also the Palatine

Sendamersko, and Myhala Ratanisko came into the Kingdome of Mosco, to a place called the Land of Seeuersko, putting the people of that Land in feare, and perswading them there, this Gryshca was the true Prince, and that the King of Poland and Panameerada, had found out the certaintie thereof: and therefore they will haue Poland and Letto stand for him. Also from out of many other Kingdomes they goe to aide and assist him: likewise other inferiour Kingdomes are willing to stand for him: moreouer, that Gryshca in the foresaid Land of Seeuersko, and in other places of our Borders, by the meanes of his diuellish practises and coniurations did intise and tempt them to fall to him: likewise the people of those foresaid places of the Land of Seeuersko, and on the Borders, being simple people, and resorting seldome to the Citie of Mosco, and being intised by Gryshca and the rest of the Gouvernours, could not withstand, but yeelded them vnto them. Wherevpon against those Polonians and Lettoes, and other enemies that were already entred the Kingdome of Mosco, the Emperour sent his Nobles with a great Armie: but by the appointment of God, the Emperour Boris deceased; vpon whose death, the chieftest of the Nobles departed the Campe. And after their departure, the Armie hearing of the death of the Emperour, and being drawne thereto by feare and otherwise, at last

yeelded themselues ouer vnto Gryshca, as the Borderers had done before.

Also the foresaid Gryshca, by the helpe of the Diuell, and King Sigismund, and Panameerada, came into the Citie and Kingdome of Mosco, to the great disquietnesse and trouble of the whole Land; by whom the Religion was corrupted, and by him were many true Christians put to exile, for denying his right and interest to the Kingdome of Mosco. And shortly after he was settled in the Kingdome, and he tooke to wife the daughter of one Sandamersko, as was appointed by the King of Poland and Panameerda: the which wife of his was in Mosco with her Father and Brother Senatskoy, and with one Veshneuetskoy, with their Polish and Letto Lords, and other people, by whom Religion was prophaned: as also we were forced and driuen to receiue many wrongs and iniuries, which the people of the Kingdome of Mosco could not indure. Also, at last this Greeshca, by the counsell of the Palatine Sandamersko his Father in Law, and by the counsell of Veshneietskoy, and other Polish and Letto people which he brought in with him, was purposed, by a secret politicke deuise to haue put to death the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the holy and spirituall assembly, with the Nobles, and Courtiers, and diuers others which were of the better people, and so to haue

sent others into Poland and Letto; withall to haue changed the Religion, and to haue established the Romish Religion, for which purpose he brought with him many Iesuites.

The which we the great Lord and great Duke Vassily Euanowich, of all Russia, with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and with all the holy spirituall assembly, and with the Nobles, Courtiers, and Commons of the Kingdome of Mosco, well considering, and perceiuing what an alteration this would be to our Christian faith, with the ouerthrow and vtter vndoing to our whole Kingdome: we then earnestly bewail'd and lamented, and withall hartily prayed to the almightie Trinitie our onely Lord God, that liueth and defendeth mankinde, that it would please him to deliuer vs, and the Common-wealth from those vile, cruell, diuellish attempts, and deuises of theirs. Thus desiring the mercy of God, we all returned and stood stedfast to our former vnspotted and true Christian faith, against that vsurper and counterfeit Gryshca and his Counsell, with a resolution to stand in the same manfully, and euen to the death, hoping and longing for the time that all people, and warlik men and Souldiors and many others of the Empire of Moscow might come to gather themselues together, & that they might likewise perceiue and discern this vsurping Here-tick, and his diuellish courses, by which he did

decline from the true Christian faith of our Religion. The largenesse of the Kingdome of Mosco cannot be vnknowne vnto you our louing Brother, how farre it extendeth itselfe both to the South, and to the West, as also to other places, that in halfe a yeares space they could not gather themselves together. But when as the power and warlike Souldiours, and all other people were gathered together, then through the mercie and fauour of God, this enemy of God's Commonwealth was discouered to all what he was. And the Empresse Martha, being Mother of the true Prince Demetry Euonowich, did certifie vnto vs before the Metropolitans, Archbishoppes, and Bishoppes, and before all the holy assembly, as also to the Nobles and Courtiers, and other Officers, and men of worth within our Empire, did shee deliuer, that her Sonne the Prince Demetry was murdered beyond reason, at a place cald Owglits, by appointment of Boris Godenoue, and that he dyed in her armes : yet did this Gryshca falsely call himselfe by the name of him that was murdered.

Also we found in the custody of this Gryshca, the Copie of a writing, which was the contract and agreement that he made betwixt him and the Palatine, before his comming out of Poland ; in which was written, that as soone as he did come to the Kingdome of Mosco, that then he would take to wife the daughter of the Palatine,

and would giue her two Prouinces, called great Nouogrod and Vobsko, with counsell, Courtiers, Gentlemen, and Prieste, fitting to a Congregation, with inferior Castles, and Lands, freely in those foresaid, to build and set vp Monasteries, and also to set vp the Romish Religion; And when he came to the Kingdome of Mosco, that then he should giue vnto the Palatine tenne thousand pieces of Polish Gold, which is by our Russia account, three hundred thousand Markes : and to his wife, in consideration of her long Iourney, he promised to giue cloth of Gold, and cloth of Siluer, and of all the best things that was in the Treasurie of the Kingdome of Mosco. Likewise, that hee the said Gryshca, at his comming to Mosco, would take orders to bring these things to passe with all diligence, whereby he might draw all the Dominion of Mosco from our true Grecian Religion, and so to haue turned vs into the Romish Religion, and to haue destroyed the holy Church ouer all the Empire of Mosco, and so to haue built vp the Religion of the Church of Rome, and for the performing of all this, the said Gryshca was sworne to the Palatine Sandamersko, in the presence of the Teachers of the Land, as beforesaid; that he according to his owne handwriting, would hold all the said couenants with all diligence, as likewise to bring all the Empire of Mosco to the Romish Religion. The which couenants

and agreements the Generall Sandamersko himselfe hath confessed to our Maiestie and Nobles, that the foresaid agreements and couenants betwixt him and the foresaid Gryshca were true, and how that they trusted one to another : moreouer the Palatine did certifie vnto our Nobles, how Gryshca sent him a letter vnder his owne hand and Seale, in which he promised to giue him Smolensko, with all the Prouinces belonging thereto, and another place called Seeuerow, as also gaue him liberty to set vp Monasteries, and the Religion of the Church of Rome. Further, there was found by him Letters which were sent to him from the Pope of Rome, and the Cardinals, and Priests, to that effect, that he should remember and withall be mindefull to take in hand speedily those matters and business vpon which he had giuen to Sigismund, and the Cardinals his troth and vow, the which was, as before said, to be himselfe of the Romish Religion, as also to bring all the people of the Kingdome of Russia into the same Romish Religion, not onely them that of themselues were willing thereto, but also others by compulsion, and to put them to death that sought to contrary the same. And not onely them of the Kingdome of Russia, but likewise other godly people of seuerall Religion : and that doe serue in the Kingdome of Mosco, as the Catholicks, and the Caluinists, them likewise he should seeke

Michalowich Vorotinskoy, with the rest of his fellowes, commanding them to bring vp with them the body of the Prince Demetrie Euanowich, who was murdered by the appointment of Boris Godonoue, and to bring it vp to our Citie of Mosco with great honour, which body shall be buried in the principall Church of Mosco, called Michael the Archangel, neare to his father the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Euan Vasilowich of famous memorie, and by Gods power his body shall not be touched or abused any manner of way. Likewise will we, by the fauour of God, honour the Funerall of Demetrie Euanowich with speciall solemnitie, which body performeth many cures, and worketh miraculously vnto them, that come to him with Faith to be cured of their diseases.

And now most louing and deare brother, wee calling well to minde the great amitie and friendship that was betwixt the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vasilywich, and his Sonne Theodor Euanowich, the Emperour Boris, and the great Lady Queene Elizabeth: the like brotherly loue doe we desire to haue with you, most louing and deare brother, to be established and continued betwixt vs, as it was with them, during our liues. Therefore may it please you, our louing brother Iames, King of England, after the hearing of these great and strange dangers past, to reioyce with vs, that

he hath deliuered from such a vile enemy, and that he, our mercifull God, hath diuided and scattered that wicked counsell, and that he hath turned their cruelty vpon their owne head, to their shame and confusion. And concerning your Merchants that were in our Kingdome, Iohn Merricke with his fellowes, we haue graced them with our Emperiall presence; as also haue giuen vnto the said Iohn Merricke and his fellowes, a new priuiledge, and Letters of fauour, by which they shall come into our Kingdome, and to traficke with all manner of goods freely, without paying any Custome whatsoever, and as to them was granted in former time, and this fauour we haue giuen them to manifest vnto you our louing Brother our Brotherly loue. And the reason that we haue not sent to you, louing Brother, our Embassadour, is, because we had not time, in regard of many our Emperiall affaires, but hereafter doe purpose to send, to visite you in your Kingdome. Written at our Emperiall palace and Citie of Mosco, from the beginning of the World Anno 7114. the fourth day of Iune.

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